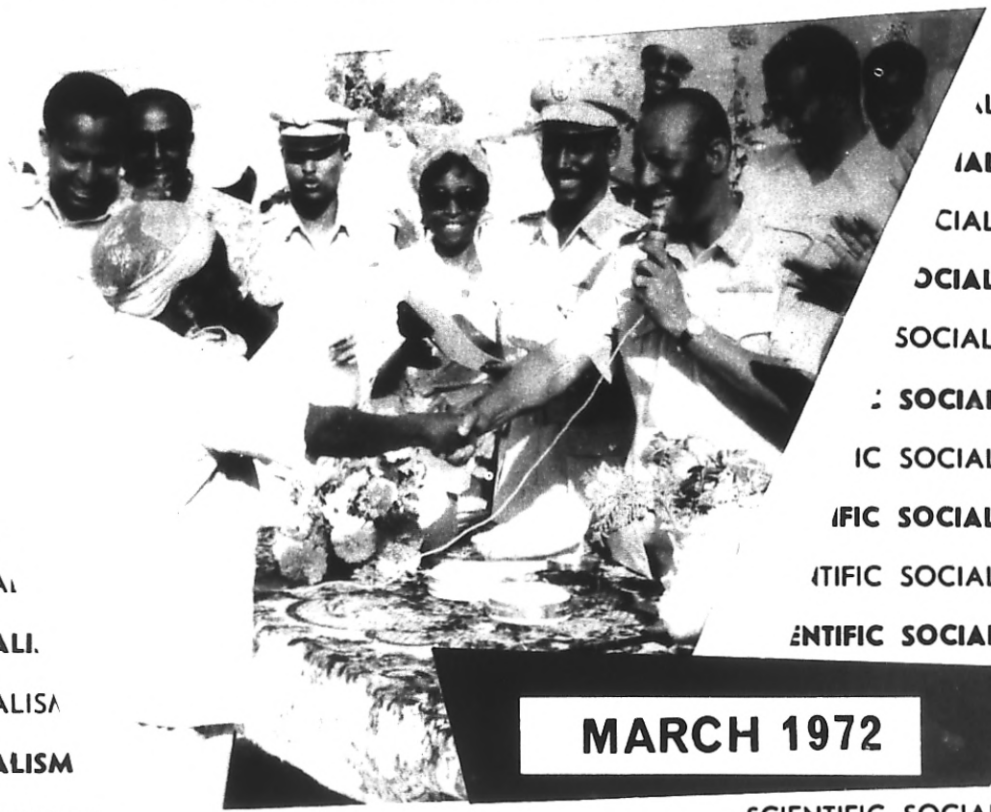
NEW ERA



MARCH 1972

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Editorial

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM IN ACTION

IN recent weeks there has been a spurt of activity throughout Somalia, all aimed at emphasising the need for change, improvement and progress in the land since the October Revolution of 1969.

From that time onwards a new course of uplift was planned for the Somali Democratic Republic.

This was achieved in a remarkable series of transformations all over the country.

Now, as the Revolution enters a new phase in its programme for a more meaningful life for the people, the campaign to launch Scientific Socialism is in full swing.

What are the implications of Scientific Socialism for Somalia?.

Socialism stems from the community of man. It means man working, not as an individual, but as a group or in groups for the betterment of the whole community, and therefore the entire country.

Socialism postulates the principle that when an individual withdraws into himself and shuns his fellow beings, that is the beginning of the selfishness that sets one person apart from another. This concept and practice has no place in the Socialist doctrine.

Where there is brotherhood, and a lack of exploitation of man by man, there is acceptance of the simple fact that life and progress embrace people and therefore the community and the nation.

Somalia must be free of the kind of exploitation that creates economic class distinctions and move towards the elimination of those elements opposed to Socialism and its progress.

The steps that the Revolution has taken have been in the interests of the broad masses of the country. Nationalisation opens new opportunities for greater numbers of our people. It gave back to the nation what belongs to it — and furthermore those fruits are now available to the people of this country.

In improving education on the basis of the new Revolutionary curriculum the State has placed within the reach of all, the essential requisite of learning to ensure that the individual is developed to the full in order to make a contribution towards the advance of his fellowmen and the progress and prestige of the nation.

In the steps that have been taken to bring medical care within the reach of the entire population, the Revolution is giving the people the assurance of good health, without which no effective headway could be made towards national fulfilment.

When the whole economic structure was examined, to devise a better system in the importation and distribution of essential goods, the State was thinking of the average worker and his needs. In the past, the essentials were the means of riches to a few while the masses suffered. The Revolutionary changes represent Socialism in action. This is the doctrine applied to real situations to remove hardship and give the people a better life.

Until the advent of the Socialist creed in Somalia two very divergent policies and doctrines dictated the attitudes and reactions of too many people. And both of these were not in interests of the whole country.

Somalia consists of a large majority of peasants and nomads and they matter more than the privileged few. It is for them that the State has seen fit to initiate a programme that sets goals for general improvement.

Unless there is recognition of the need to upgrade living standards and to make it possible for all to live up to certain minimum standards of decency, independence has no real value and the country has no clearly defined road towards its destiny.

In the Democratic Republic of Somalia the emphasis is on the down trodden people — it is for them and their future that Socialism has been adopted as a way of life. It means equality, Justice and progress for all. In self-reliance we have found a key to a better future and we are rapidly gaining from the experience of the Socialist world.

The only way
for SOMALIA . .

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

JAALLAYAL,

Following is the full text of the speech of the President of the SRC on the Campaign for Socialism.

As you all remember this campaign is one of the several campaigns we have undergone since the triumph of the October Revolution. We have campaigned against illiteracy, against tribalism, we have campainged for labour and value of labour. Today we are partaking in yet another more important campaign of this serial. I wish to stress here that these campaigns are planned political work destined for us to achieve our objectives and to raise the political consciousness of our people.

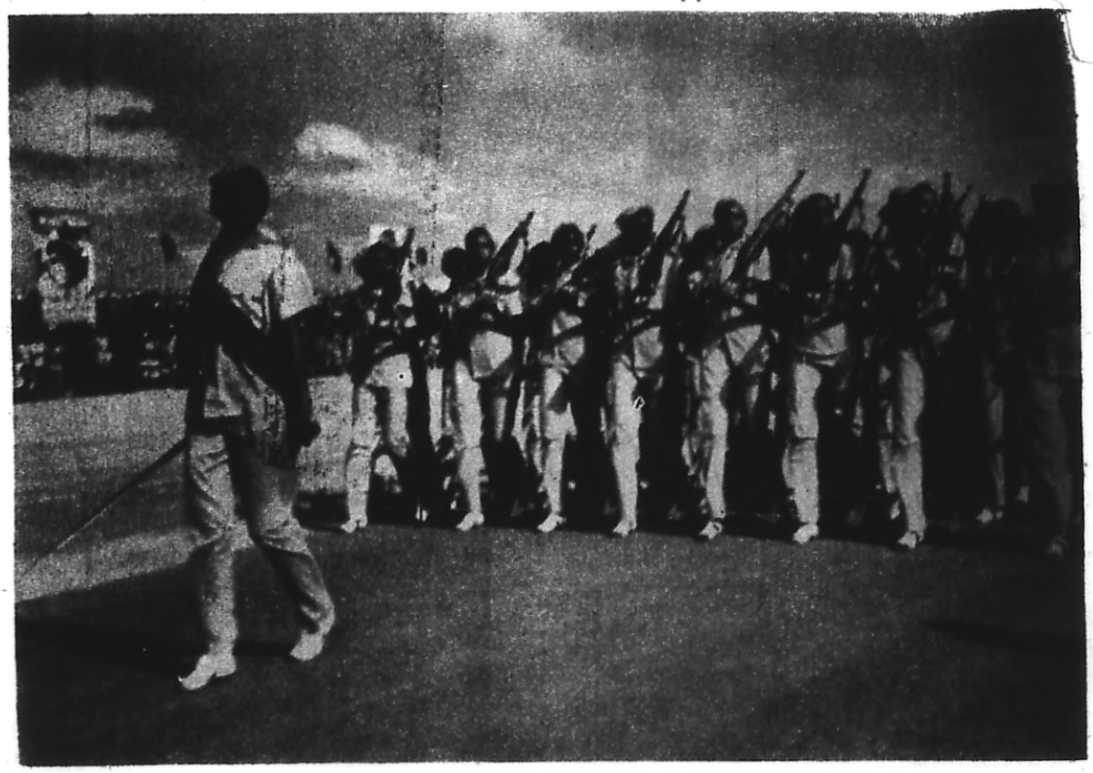
Through this campaign, we want to achieve two things: firstly to create a common platform for all the revolutionaries in order to exchange views and experience, so that we may further develop the creative efforts of our people. Secondly to put an end the confusion and chaos created by certain elements in their approach to socialism by giving erroneous and misleading definitions. This unscientific and mistaken approach towards socialism was deliberately thrown into our midst for the simple reason of diverting us from the real struggle and led us to fruitless and sterile polemics. The reactionaries are using the well-known tactics; «If you can not stop the current, try to divert it.»

It might appear to some people that these campaigns are not of much value. But let me tell them: these campaigns are part of our revolutionary political work. In as much as we try to explain to our people the policies and objectives of the government, we at the same time try to learn from them. A revolutionary man is a teacher and learner at the same time. He imparts to the people what he knows better and learns a lot through having a direct contact with them. How can one speak about or evaluate any particular action unless he thoroughly examnies the impact of that given action. How can one say anything about these campaigns unless he participates in them. We know that those who be-little these activities are the last to participate effectively in them.

JAALLAYAL,

This is not the first time we discuss about scientific socialism. I remember that I have spoken about it on several occasions. In many of my speeches I tried to explain socialism and how we should have to conceive it. Here, I would like to further elaborate what a socialist system is? It is a system in which all means of production and natural resources belong to the entire society, a system that puts to an end the exploitation of man by man, a system that distributes the product of the society in accordance with the contributions made by every individual. When such a system acquires comprehensive historical understanding of the development of the society and turns this knowledge into practical reality, we can say that the given system is applying scientific socialism.

Scientific socialism is genuine knowledge that forignates from the direct experience of humanity through long history and it is the sum total of that experience. Scientific socialism is universal because mankind is striving for the same goals, i. e. equality and social justice. Scientific socialism is particular because every country has its specific conditions and applies socialism accordingly. We try to apply socialism in accordance with our specific conditions, yet we cannot ignore the experience of the international community in regard to the application of socialism.



Girls of the Militia in an impressive display.

Canal in Afogi for irrigation.

When I speak about our specific conditions, I mean that we should take into consideration our spiritual, cultural and phychological background. The Somalis understood the message of Islam as a religion for social justice and for the equality of human beings. Historically our people, strongly beliefing in Islam have unanimously fought all threats against faith and country. Today their faith is stronger than ever. As far as socialism is concerned, it is not heavenly message like Islam but a mere system of regulating the relations between man and his utilization of the means of production in this world. If we decide to regulate our national wealth, it is not against the essence of Islam. God has created man and has given him the faculty of mind to choose between good and bad, between virtue and vice. We have chosen social justice instead of exploitation of man by man and this is how we could practically help the individual Muslim and direct him to virtuous life. However, the reactionaries want to create a rift between socialism and Islam because socialism is not to their interest, therefore, they have not even reverenced from misinterpreting the words of God.

Our cultural heritage must be preserved and utilized for the furtherance of our socialist objectives but we must understand that there are positive and negative aspects in our cultural heritage. Nobody can speak about preserving tribaslim when we all know its vicious role le in our society. In the past, tribalism has caused for us a lot of chaos, and has for long frustrated all our hopes. It has hindered our national progress and stopped in the way of all efforts to develop Somalia. Therefore, we have condemned, rejected and considered it, through practical experience, as the main social evil prevailed among our society. The positive heritage is embodied in the historical struggle of our people for unity and independence. It has manifested in the popular folklore, songs, the dances, the poetry, etc. That express labour, unity and aestetic views of our people as nomads, farmers and the like.

Minisrty of Information and National Guidance — the Voice of the Revolution

We have to understand the psychology of various people, their likes and dislikes, their points of strenght and weakness. We must wipe out from our minds the aftermaths of colonialism and neo-colonialism. They deliberately tried to instil in our mins, laziness, lack of confidence in our-selves. We have to encourage all the positive approaches to life.

The determinant factor of the relation between man and man is reflected in their definite relation to the means of production. When the relations to the means of production are changed, the relation between man and man also changes. But this change in the relation between man and man is not as easy as the change of the means of production. When the State have acquired a substantial part of the means of production through the several revolutionary measures known to you, the relation of production in many sectors has changed but the approach and mentality of people have not changed in the same speed.

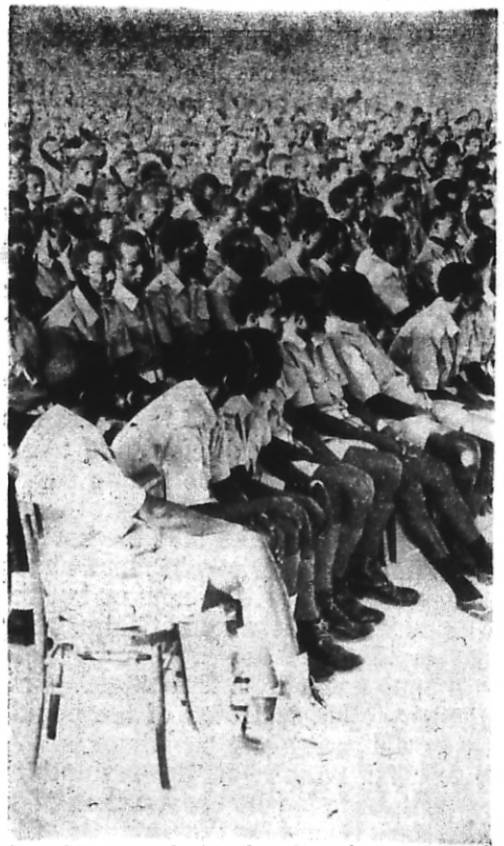
Since the triumph of the October Revolution the Government has taken many concrete measures aimed to bring our socialist aspirations closer to reality, Jaalval, let us be proud of our achievements. A lot has been done in the past two years, and two years is nothing in the life span of a society. It is just like a drop in an ocean. We have freed to great extent our economy from the foreign capital and our working people from the control and distribution of major items of consumption. The Somali farmer as well as the consumer were freed from the manipulation of cereals by the merchants. In every field the revolutionary government has taken measures which were impossible to think of being implemented in the pre-revolutionary times. This is what applying socialism means. For us socialism does not mean empty words but concrete reality. Let me repeat what I have said in the past: we maintain that socialism is more human

Ideological and Political Orientation in government offices.

and comprehensive ideology, it is a system for satisfying the human needs since it is the only philosophical system that can give dignity to human values; equality of rights and opportunities, for prosperity and happiness.

Of course, what we have achieved upto now is minor compared to the gigantic task ahead of us. To build in Somalia a fully developed socialist society will take time and will require tremendous efforts. But experience teaches us that human society develops step by step, from lower stage to higher stage. Through our will and with the determinant revolutionary labour and unity we shall achieve our goals.

At this time when we want to free ourselves from ignorance, disease and poverty which has been forced upon us by the forces of reactionaries and imperialism, when all the revolutionary Somalis are struggling, had in glove, to create a better society for themselves and for the future generations, the evil forces of imperialism and their lacheys will spare no effort to hinder our progress. They will use all the available means to abstract us from our objctives. This is natural because in every society there is a struggle that goes between the forces of progress and that of reaction and we are not an exception. Therefore we have to use revolutionary vigilance against these dark forces and isolate them entirely.



Revolutionary instruction in Infantry School (Bottego).

Massive demonstrations in support of the campaign for Scientific Socialism

There are also other type of people in the country who call themselves socialists but never use their brains to analyse anything concretely, they refuse to undertake any painstaking efforts in building socialism or acquire it. They only know how to repeat stereotype, devoid of content phraselogy about socialism. Thise people, though they may call themselves socialist, they are in reality allying themselves with force of reaction. To those we say that socialism is not a void theory, it is not intellectual mental exercise, but it is creative effort of the working people to find solutions to the social problems by giving regard to the general truth emerging out of practice. No theory is valid unless it could be applied to reality, and scientific socialism is valid because it has been proved to be pratical and originates from the truthful experience of humanity. If other people were able to apply socialism according to their own conditions, we also can build it in our own specific conditions.

In the Somali society socialism is to the interest of the broad masses, for the nomads, the farmers, the workers, the soldiers, the intellectual, the small merchants and unemployed. It is against the xeploiters, the puppet of foreign monopoly-capital and all those who were acustomed to unlawful gains. There are two distinctive forces and there is an inherent controdiction between them. The se two forces have irreconcilable interest and their struggle is at times overt and at times vocerty. In the past the political power as well as the economic domination was in hands of the reactionary forces. The revolution has changed the balance in favour of the majority, the exploited forces came into fore-front and dominating became the dominated. The revolutionary system have out-did one blow after the other the interests of the reactionary elements that plundered the nation and its wealth. However, we shall be deceiving ourselves if we take for granted that the enemy is completely dealt with. The enemy is seriously injured but is still alive. It is desperately trying to hide its defeat and to servive of the expense of the toiling people, by viciously applying wicked stratagems.

I am quite positive that the socialist cause shall be victorious because history can never take a reverse course, but that will never happen automatically. Success can only be achieved through the continuous and diligent struggle jointly waged by all the stratas of the population in whose interest socialism is. All the working people, all the revolutionaries must unite for the construction of socialist society and for the progress of the Somali people.

Long live Socialism,
Long live the unity of Somali people for progress and socialist justice.

Revolutionary Instrustuction in Infantry School

Dr. WALDHEIM ON PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY TO FORESTALL INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

Dr. Kurt Waldheim.

INTERNATIONAL

SOMALI PRESS:

Your Excellency, you have taken responsibility over the United Nations at a time when image of the U. N. is at its lowest ebb, mainly due to the big powers' open defiance of the U. N. resolutions. Have you formulated any plans to remedy the situation?

SEC. GEN.

Well, I have said on previous occasions that I have to do something about remedying this situation and I have put forward a number of proposals recently in order to create confidence in the U. N. One of the proposals is that the Security Council should have received notification of difficult problems early enough so that the Council can do something about them. It doesn't make sense to go to the Council when it is too late. So I shall endeavour to do my utmost to take the most serious problems and crises to the competent organs of the U. N. so that the Council can really act while there is still time.

My other intention is to use more the possibilities of preventive diplomacy. in other words, the Secretary General using his personal contacts with Member States or with Governments of the Member States to deal with dangerous situations as early as possible and to try to avoid the outbreak of war.

This is, I think a very good aspect of the duties of the Secretary-General to use more the possibilities of quiet diplomacy and mostly to use preventive diplomacy.

AFRICA

SOMALI PRESS:

Some big powers are bent on perpetuating white supremacy in Southern Africa to protect their own interests; in other words, the solution to this problem is directly linked to the attitude of big Western powers to the situation pertaining there.

Do you have any new approach to it?

SEC. GEN.

First of all I wish to say I deeply regret colonialism and racism. I am happy that the meeting of the Security Council is taking place in Africa — in Addis Ababa — for the first time in the history of the United Nations.

I think this is significant. I may add here that the Government of Somalia, and the Somali Ambassador to the U.N., H.E. Abdulrahim Abby Farah, have played a very important role in this respect. I wish to express my gratitude to your Government and to your Permanent Representative at the U. N. for having taken this initiative, and I think it helps us to bring the members of the Security Council closer to the hot spots, the areas of tension, to the areas of conflict in other words nearer to Southern Africa because the problems are there and I hope very much that this Session of the Security Council will help us in solving these problems.

MIDDLE EAST

SOMALI PRESS:

The situation in the Middle East still remains explosive with all efforts by the U. N. having failed so far.

What plans have you to untangle the deadlock?

SEC. GEN.

I consider the situation in the Middle East as one of the most dangerous crises in the world today, and it is the duty of the U. N. to do anything possible to achieve a peaceful solution through negotiations.

Now, I have undertaken the initiative to ask Ambassador Jarring, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to go to Africa to see President Senghor of Senegal and the President of the Organisation of African Unity, Ould Daddah to discuss the matter with these two Heads of State.

Also as you know, a group of ten African States has contributed considerably to the efforts of the U. N. to find a solution for this very important problem. And Ambassador Jarring was, during his last effort, in Dakar and he is today in the capital of Mauritania to discuss the same problem with President Ould Daddah. So we are very grateful that the African States are willing and ready to help the Special Representative of the U. N. to solve this important problem.

I wish that all of us will do anything possible in future to be helpful and to achieve a peaceful solution in that area.

The MOGADISHU DECLARATION — and the freedom of AFRICA

The Modishu Declaration is an imoprtant militant document and a challenge to colonialism and imperialism.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, one of the most dynamic apostles of Africa has said that «the independence of any African State was meaningless unless the rest of the continent was liberated.» At the time it was said nearly a decade ago, its historical importance, merits of the statement and the objective truth coveyed therein was not fully appreciated. To the layman, it was considered as part of Nkrumah's anti-coloniali rhetoric. To Africa's detractors, it was demogogic, and part of Nkrumah «design» to assume Africa's leadership.

Yet African leaders have become convinced through the passage of time and bitter experience the truthfulness of Nkrumah's statement. And today it remains more truer than ever.

Why? Has anything changed in the past independence decade? A lot has changed. More African countries have emerged on the political map as sovereign nations. Others have vowed to sever all ties with capitalism and lead their nations towards socialism. And African independent States have become more united and at the same time divided than never before.

But in the turbulence prevailent in Africa, the liberation of the rest of colonially held territories is one of the top priorities of the continent. This is explained by colonialism's resolute determination to stick to its remaining vistiges, and the threat the existence and creation of racist minority regimes pose to the Continent.

By supporting these minority regimes, hanging on desperately to colonial territories, and committing acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, the imperialists plan to disrupt independent Africa's march towards economic progress and the breaking of iron chains of tutelage.

Neither Tanzania nor Zambia can concentrate on economic reconstruction while the minority regime in South Africa and Salisbury, and colonialist Portugal hold the sword over their heads; the same applies to Burundi, Peoples Republic of Congo, to mention just a few; Guinea can never have peace with Portugal in neighbouring Bissau as recent events have articulately demonstrated.

It becomes difficult for Botswana or Lesotho to break their vasal-type relationship while the rascists in South Africa weild their economic and military muscle.

The same applies to the Somali Democratic Republic in so far as French colonial domination in the Somali Coast is concerned. Even those African States which feel relative security in view of their geographical position can never be immune. This, coupled with our belief in the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determniation, independence and national dignity, provides the objective framework for Africa's priority in the liberation of the remaining colonially held and minority dominated territories.

Despite the existence in principle of a concensus of opinion among Africans of all political convictions on the matter of liberating, yet there are serious and basic disagreements over the best possible way of achieving the cherished goal of liberation.

As late as 1969, African leaders in East and Central Africa, by adopting the **Lusaka Manifesto** expressed the hope that minority regimes in Southern Africa and

colonial powers would succumb to reason and change their abnoxious policies of racial discrimniation, and colonialism. In effect, the African leaders offered the white supremacist an honourable exit and a golden chance to change their fascist ideas of «racial purity», supremacy, etc. Africa by adopting the **Lusaka Manifesto** extended a hand of friendship, based on equality in order to avert bloodshet, chaos, and destruction of life and property.

This appeal for sense to prevail was utterly rejected by the minority regimes as well as the colonialists. Instead of positively responding to the call for reason, the minority regimes increased their arrogance and contempt for Africa's leaders as is clearly demonstrated in Vorster's letter to President K. Kaunda. They pursued their racist policies with vigour, thereby tightening all the screws on the African majority which they dominate.

The **Lusaka Manifesto** did not therefore produce the required result. On the contrary, the racists interpreted its terms as a weakness on the part of Africa, and have therefore embarked on a path of launching a political and military offensive not only against the peoples under their grip, but also against the independent African States. The acts of aggression committed against Zambia, Guinea and others, coupled with winning of a pro «dialogue» faction in Africa, is but a manifestation of the military and political offensive of the minority regimes.

The answer to this question is given in the **Mogadishu Declration** unanimously adopted at the last Summit conference of East and central African States held in Mogadishu in Oct. 1971. As long as a peaceful solution of the decolonisation of Southern Africa is hindered by the racists who are in power, and since these same racists refuse to listen to reason, there is no other alternative except that of resorting to armed struggle in order to liberate Southern Africa. This is prefactors in Africa, particularly those precisely the message conveyed in the **Mogadishu Declaration.**

The intransigence of the white supremacists, their arrogance, together with the other, Subjective and objective factors in Africa, particularly those rellating to decolonisation have, therefore brought about the adoption of this historic document (Mogadishu Declaration).

If in the **Lusaka Manifesto** the independent African States have convinced the comity of nations of their willingness to live in harmony and peace with others on the basis of equality-which call was ignored then the **Mogadishu Declaratin** is a **clarion call** for **armed struggle in the liberation of Africa.** This is unequivocally enunciated in paragraph 13 on the **Declaration** which **inter alia** reads:

> «We, the leaders of East and Central African States, therefore, do declare at this meeting in Mogadishu that there is no way left to the liberation of Southern Africa except armed struggle to which we already give and will increasingly continue to give our fullest support;....».

The significance of the above quoted statement lies in that for the first time in their history, African independent states have collectively and publicy pledged to wage an armed struggle in order to liberate Southern Africa, and for that matter other colonially held African territories. This is, of course, a principled departure from the policy hitherforeto pursued by African states in this regard and provides a dynamic framework for accelerating the liberation of Southern Africa and other parts of the continent still languishing under colonial domination.

What remains to be done on the part of African States after the adoption of the **Mogadishu Declaration** is to devise ways and means of translating into action the noble principles enshrined in the **Declaration.** This is perhaps one of the most serious challenges facing independent Africa in the decade of the 70s. How Africa faces this challenge will undoubtedly have an indellible imprint for many generations to come.

JOURNALISTS AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

To bring forward my point right in the beginning let me refer to Karl Marx who together with Friedrich Engels was one of the fathers of Scientific Socialism. In a polemics with the German philosopher Feuerbach, Karl Marx said: «Various philosophers have interpreted the world in different ways. But what is necessary is to change it».

It is that active and combattant approach to life I am concerned with, which is essential to Scientific Socialism. It is the approach of a man who knows that life is struggle. And this fact Karl Marx knew very well since through his scientific research he discovered the real reason of exploitation of man by man effective throughout human history.

He has thrown open the secret that with the advance of development of tools and production technology man at a very early stage of history became capable to produce more goods like food and utensils etc. than he needed for his own individual subsistence. He produced a surplus product which was accumulated in the hands of some members of human society whilst others due to various reasons could not accumulate.

From that early stage of history onwards human society was divided in classes of those who were in the possession of riches and first of all of means of production like tools, land, cattle etc., and who by the economic power they had won could make others work for them and those masses of the people who had no riches, no land and no major tools of their own and thus had to work for the rich proprietors of those means of production which allows the former only a very poor livelihood.

That division of the human society into classes thus entailed exploitation and the class struggle. To mention it, by the way, this proves that the class struggle is not an invention of Marxism but a discovery and a revelation of a phenomenon existing latently and objectively.

And this secret mechanism of exploitation and class struggle has been effective all throughout history up to the modern capitalist and imperialist system of society though the ways of exploitation and suppression of the working classes became more and more sophisticated. The suppressed and exploited classes had always to struggle hard to secure for themselves at least a minimum living.

Fascinated by this perception of their own research Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels devoted all their lives to working out scientifically the theory and the basic essentials of strategy and tactics for eliminating exploitation and class struggle once and for all by establishing a classless society on the basis of equality, social justice and common wellfare. That is what Scientific Socialism means, which for the first time in history under the leadership of Vladimir Iljitch Lenin and the Soviet Bolshevicks was put into practice after the Great Socialist October Revolution in Soviet Russia.

But Marx and Engels analysed and Lenin and his comrades experienced in the course of the Russian revolution that the ruling and exploiting classes are not ready to give up their rule voluntarily but resort to all means of violence whenever they see their system of exploitation in danger. Thus to strive for Scientific Socialism does not go without struggle and also not without sacrifices. And

the only ones genuinely interested to carry out this struggle consistantly are the exploited and suppressed classes once they have been made aware of their own social position, of the secret of exploitation and of the reality and feasibility of the socialist aim.

It is here, where the journalists come. Karl Marx assessed the role of journalism in enlightening and mobilising the masses so high that he himself was active as a journalist throughout his life. For longer periods he was even chief editor of newspapers and journals like for example the«Neue Rheinische Zeitung». Also Friedrich Engels was a frequent columnist to a number of periodicals. One can rightly say: from the very inception of Scientific Socialism progressive and revolutionary journalists and newspapers have always been in the forefront of the struggle.

In the revolutionary movement in Germany it was the newspaper «der Vorwarts» the tradition of which in our days is being continued by «Neues Deutschland», the leading daily of the German Democratic Republic. In Russia it was the paper established by Lenin himself «Iskra and from May 1912 onwards uptill today «Prawda». In Somalia too the mass-media, press, newsagency and broadcasting «which didn't exist yet during Marx, Engels' and Lenin's time) and the journalists working with them have to play an eminent important role in leading the revolution of october 1969 to the final victory of Scientific Socialism.

Socialist journalism, quite different from journalism under capitalist conditions, requires all the conviction, all the persuasive power, all the enthusiasm, all the knowledge and all the wits and all the talents of the man or the woman who goes for it. It is not just a profession earning its money, it is a summons to fight devotedly for the socialist cause.

Every day of work and eyery part of the work of a socialist journalist must be filled with this devotion and with this approach. In this he differs basically from the journalists attitude in the capitalist mass-media.

The Somali people at present are going through a phase of important historic changes opening the way towards freedom, social justice and prosperity for every Somali. The journalists of this country have each for to take the decision wholeheartedly and unreservedly to struggle ahead on this way. That is by no means a risky decision since Scientific Socialism in practice has proved right and victorious in a great number of more Socialist countries. First the Russians and later all those nations have put Scientific Socialism into practice. And they did it — to quote what President Mohamed Siyad Barre said with reference to the Soviet Union «...in such a way that it could match with their local conditions and we are doing the same thing.»

Once this decision is consequently taken it is absolutely natural that every piece of news, every fact and information one comes across in order to prepare it journalistically for publication, through whatever mass-media, will be judged from the viewpoint of the revolutionary struggle of the nation. There will always be the question: how to benefit the nation's revolutionary cause by publishing the item. And there can't be a single item exempted from this approach.

News, as is well known, though factually fully correct can be displayed either in a way revealing backgrounds, reasons, consequences or camou-flaging them and covering them up. And reasons can be given either with the intention to defend and to back capitalism and imperialism and its criminal and dangerous designs or with the intention to follow Scientific Socialism dictates to throw light on the shady imperialist and neocolonialist intrigues.

It is beyond any doubt that imperialist mass media, papers, agencies, broadcasting and TV stations serve imperialism with every little bit of what they publish. Thus everything coming from that side has to be scrutinised carefully and nothing from these canbe suitable for reproduction in this country's mass media if not for showing imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues admitted even in imperialist media.

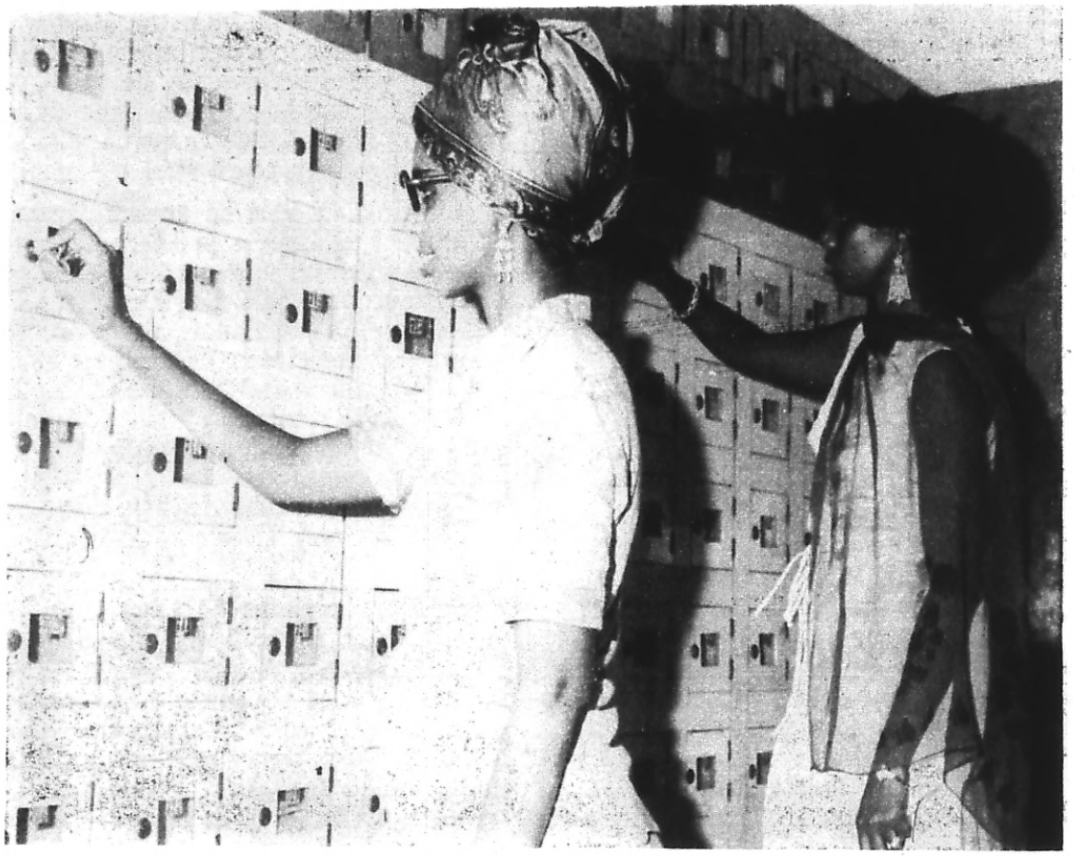
It is this attitude towards imperialism and its mass media that is called revolutionary vigilance. Each and every item published in this country's mass media has to serve the aspirations of the

Somali people. Revelations of imperialist policies will help to complete the picture of the people's enemy and thus increase the nation's vigilance, information about progress in other brotherly African countries, in the Socialist world, in the struggle of the anti-imperialist world movement will make the people more intimate with the life, the strength and the great number of their genuine friends everywhere in the world and thus add to their own moral strength. But one should not underestimate also the great importance of continuously reporting and commenting and mobilising the masses on this country's own developments and problems.

Lenin, the genius of the victorious revolution in Soviet Russia wrote in the «Pravda» of June 5, 1919 criticising his journalist comrades: «Look at the bourgeoisie. How magnificiently they understand to propagate what they need. How do they praise those **in their view** «exemplary good» enterprises in millions of copies of **their** papers, how are those «exemplary good» bourgeois institutions being made objects of national pride! Our press does not or almost not care to describe the best of our restaurants and creeches, it does not care by daily pressure to effect that some of them are being changed into exemplary institutions and to make propaganda for them and to describe extensively to the people how much human labour is being saved by them, what comfort they bring for the consumers, how much foods saved how help to free women from the slavery in the household and what improvement of sanitary conditions can be achieved through exemplary good communist work and how all this can be applied to the whole society, to all working people.»

Starting off from an apparently minor problem though a problem of immediate concern to his people Lenin has drawn out with this a full catalogue of tasks socialist journalists have to fulfill at the homefront: describing examples of good selfhelp-work, criticising carelessness and through each and every example again and again showing the bright prospects for the whole nation. The socialist journalist will find his battlefield in every sphere of the nation's life.

On 21 November 1969 President Mohamed Siyad Barre said addressing the nation: «We can neither promise to eliminate all hunger overnight, nor to drop gold upon you from the sky.... Our efforts alone will enable us to arrive at our goals and to build a better society. Let it be known to all of us that we can emerge victoriously over our difficulties by facing them.» I think this «let it be known...» was a direct appeal to all Somali journalists. In this sense I am certainly right to conclude this contribution quoting a word of the well known revolutionary soviet poet Vladimir Majakowski, a word every journalist should adopt as his own pledge: «Take my pen into the armoury of the revolution!»



The Post in your services

SOMALIA'S POSTAL SERVICES

The Post Office is the centre of the services rendered to the general public by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications. A person can send letters, telegrammes and sometimes a telephone call at or through the Post Office. It also carries anything which a person may care to send, so long as it is lawful e.g. presents in small parcels such as articles of clothing, books, newspapers, watches, money or ony other valuable items.

Speed of delivery is the most important element in the work of the Post Office; while at the same time, the maintenance of secrecy of the service and the honesty and integrity of its staff are also very essential pre-requisites for an efficient service within the context of the general development of the country.

It is regretted, however, that the Somali Post Office has been neglected, and very badly too, during the post-independence period — a negligence that earned for it a very bad reputation.

But in its sincere desire and constant strifing for the betterment of the life of the Somali people, the Supreme Revolutionary Council has thrown its full weight behind all the government organs that perform services to the general public. The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications was no exception. After a long period of negligence, 1971 has been a very outstanding year for this Ministry. A great deal of hard but essential spade-work has been done in every branch of the Ministry. In a great revolutionary spirit the services of the Ministry have been fully integrated throughout the Republic, past inadequacies have been remedied, and the manpower and resources of the Ministry rationalized. Thus a sound and a reliable foundation has been established for the administration of an efficient national and international postal and telecommunication services for Somalia.

But this is a long-term view. What is of immediate significance is the fact that the general public, responding to this new mood of seriousness and business-like attitude displayed by the Post Office, has increased its use of the services. Mail traffic has considerably increased and the revenue of the Ministry as a result showed the unusually high record of an over 38% increase in 1971 over that of the previous year.

In a recent interview the Secretary of State for Posts and Telecommunications remarked, «while one of the main indices of the development of a country is, most certainly, the speed and the facilities available for the movement of information within the country as well as abroad, yet the development of postal and telecmommuciations service is tied to the level of the economy of the courty in general.

«Besides, a people's general understanding of the importance of these services is also a contributive factor to their development. These, then, were some of the basic reasons for the inadequacy of our postal and telecommunications services in the past.» He said.

He added: «moreover, the provision and maintenance of such highly technical services require a manpower of good educational and technological background as well as the availability of the funds to buy the necessary equipment.»

Right from the assumption of his responsibilities of the newly-created Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, last August Lt. Col. Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Farah, SRC Member, grasped both the purely technical nature and the limitations of his new assignment with this frame of mind.

Accordingly he systematicaly began to take stock of the Ministry's technical and trained manpower, equipment, premises, transport and other facilities. The inventory was terribly discouraging.

The Secretary of State, Jaalle Ahmed summed up this grim situation, «The staff was completely demoralized, since they were the least paid and the least privileged of all the State employees. I have been told that educated people used to avoid it and recruitment was made from among its messengers who gradually learnt the job. The equipment was hopelessly inadequate and many Post Offices were either dilapidated, beyond repair or else they were rented premises owned by private citizens.»

This unfortunate situation was the result of a long period of negligence.

Jaalle Ahmed said, «The colonial administration, at first, and later the so-called 'National' governments of the Post-independence period have almost intentionally neglected this field. Not only the acquisition of the necessary equipment and the training of the required manpower were neglected but they have completely failed to effect, at least, the integration of the two colonial systems we have inherited.»

In a very short time the priorities in the development of an efficient Postal and Telecommunications Ministry became apparent: Manpower, equipment and the evolution of a national system of work by effecting the integration of the Italian and British systems in use in the country until then.

The establishment which was introduced in 1966 had also created numerous problems such as insufficiency of posts in the higher grades and other anomalies. These anomalies, together with absence of welfare facilities of any sort, long and arduous hours of work have created dissatisafaction and sagging morale.

The sagging morale of the staff had to be raised by, first of all, improving the conditions under which they work! Offices were properly maintained for the first time in many years and adequate furniture and other office equipment and facilities were provided.

A number of new legislations introduced the integration of the two colonial system, which were in use in the country until late last year. These aimed at unifying the accounting system, the working languages and the procedure of work in both parts of the Republic. Among these were also the unifcations of postal and parcel tariffs and regulations, the issue of bilingual postal accounts' forms and the introduction of a new Postal Law in 1971 in accordance with international postal standards.

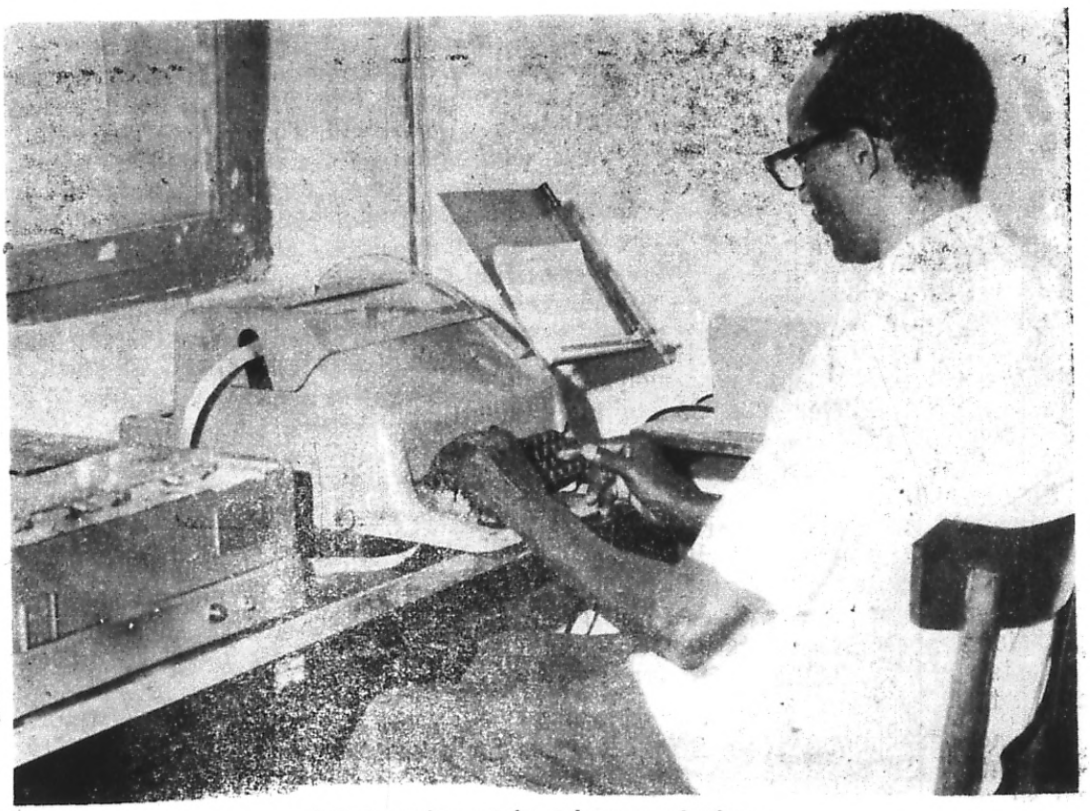
The integration plan, however, is expected to be completed by June this year. A general transfer of the staff has given a great impetus to the efficiency of the services.

In an interview with the Postal Authorities the problems of the Post Office with the general public were raised:

«Incorrect, incomplete or the totai lack of addresses on the letters or telegrammes constitute our greatest problem here at the Post Offices. Letters and telegrammes must have two full addresses: the sender's and the receiver's addresses and at least the name of the destination must be writen in either French, English or Italian in the case of the letters, parcels-etc..

«There are thousands and thousands of such letters at the P.O. and the authorities could not despatch them because of insufficient addresses either to the sender or the receiver.»

«All stamp-issues have time limits imposed on them. If some-one hords



Latest equipment for telecommunications.

Vocational School for employees of the Minisrty of Posts and Telegrams.

stamps for a long time and then uses them on his letters, then he must know that his letters may not reach their destination. One must always use stamps that are in circulation.» They advised.

Tehy added «In a reply paid telegramme, the P.O. cannot do anything if the receiver does not want to reply, and this is a source of complaints against the Postal Service.

« No one can take the stamps off a letter in the P. O. Instead of spreading rumours and propaganda about the P.O., people should directly go to it and seek clarifications for anything pertaining to it and to their correspondence. We have now a PRO to deal with them.»

«In the replacement of rented Post Offices with the ones built along self-help lines during 1971 in Bosaso, Hobyo, Brava, Zeilah, Jamama, Gabileh and Shebis quarter of Mogadishu we have saved over 13,000 shillings per years.

«In the re-organisation of Postal dispatches once a week by contracts with individual citizens, a saving of some 43,000 shillings per year was made while mail dispatches have been increased to a frequency of twice a week to many places in the Southern Region. Plans are now in hand to increase the frequency to three times a week.

«During the year the Somali authorities have settled accounts with Italcable of Rome for the first time since 1964. Paying 1,300,000 shillings in outstanding bills, the authorities received in turn some 800,000 from that company.»

«In a revenue turn-over of 8,351,798 Somali shillings the Ministry made an

«Telex» machine.

increase of over 2 million shillings. Nevertheless over 60% of the services offered by this Ministry is used freely by the various branches of the government.

Revenue percentage increases in 1971 were as follows:

Telegraphic Commission	54%
Telephone Commission	33%
Stamps	18%
P.O. Boxes	6.6%
Miscellaneous	3.6%

One of the most important achievements of the Ministry in 1971 was the establishment of a Posts and Telegraph Training School in Mogadishu.

«The preservice group consists of 75 intermediate school leavers and includes some 24 girls. These are to have a three-month intensive course, concentrated on the languages, fallowed by a six-month period of general professional training after which specialized training on the various fields begins.

«The staff of the Ministry are also to have inservice training periods at the school in order to improve their working-language proficiency as well as their general efficiency in Posts and Telecommunications service.» He added.

In strengthening the efficiency of the Ministry, a new Postal law which has been enacted last September, gives Post Inspectors the power of police officers in respect of the ivestigation of offences relating to postal services or those perpetrated in the premises where such services are carried out.

The law decrees that each and every P.O. must be inspected, at least, three times a year. The op eration covers the staff, finance and the property of the Ministry in each area.

In the firm belief of the authorities that in any given Postal or Telecommunications Services, people require them to be dependable, regular and fast, the Ministry intend to make these its motto.

«As the mail arrives at G.P.O. we immediately begin to sort it out and distribute it right away. We collect mail from the seven sub-Post Offices within the city of Mogadishu twice a day. We keep strict despatch schedules.»

««Nevertheless we do sincerely request our clients to send us their criticism and/or complaints - if any - so that we may see to it that the same mistake must not be repeated.» He added.

«Stamps,» he told this writer, «are of great educational and publicity values since they usually mark important events, publicizes the historical monuments, the fauna, the flora, and typical scenes from the life in a country. They are also an important sources of revenue.»

The Secretary of State Jaalle Ahmed said that philately used to be, «another important aspect, which has been neglected in the past but which we have takled, since. Records were not properly maintained in the past and enough publicity was not given neither within the country nor abroad.»

Jaale Ahmed noted that philatelists the world over are estimated at about 200 million and we are now determined at introduce our country to this vast audience by participating more activity and more effectively n the international philatelic exhibitions.

Moeover, we have to introduce philately to our own people.

Previously, the mailing list of our advertisement section consisted of only 730 addresses. We are now planning to mail it to over 4.500 addresses in many countries of the world, since our philates are getting more informative and more attractive. Our press releases were also, for the first time, mailed to journalists, both in and out of the country.

To introduce stamp collecting hobbies and to encourage the very small number of stamp collectors in the Somali Democratic Republic, the philatelic section have started an inland publicity campaign and articles about philately are now published in the national papers and broadcast over the radio.

A guide book is to be published very soon to give directions to the new inland collection beginners.

We are also planning to organise a national philatelic Exhibtion in the near future.

New stamp issues during the current year are centred on the following topics: the 10th anniversary of the African Postal Union (already issued on January 21, 1972); UNICEF, Domestic Animals of Somalia; Somali Folklore dances and the National Park.

«These are popular topic with the philatelists the world over and the outlook for these issues is excellent.» Murad concluded.

Secretary for Posts and Telegrams lecturing on the Campaign for Scientific Socialism.

CHINA IN SOMALI HIGHWAY TO THE NORTH: THE JOURNEY HAS BEGUN

IN an age when cross-country and intercontinental rail and road projects are in progress in many parts of the continent, Somalia is still in her infant stage of linking her capital with other principal towns of the Republic.

The biggest road project will be financed by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic on a loan spread over ten years. The highway, covering 1,045 km. will be built between the principal town of the North-eastern region Burao, and Beletwein in Hiran, which is 404 km. from Mogadishu.

This came about as a result of an agreement made in June 1971, between the Somali and the Chinese Governments to further develop economic and technical co-operation between the two countries.

Following previous official discussions between the two Governments in late 1970, the Chinese People's Government first promised to undertake a survey of the country to decide on the most suitable route to connect the capital with the other regions, after which it was decided to present a feasibility report.

The first team of Chinese surveyors undertook a preliminary investigation at the end of 1970. They surveyed the road from Garoe to Bossaso, and from Beletwein to Burao, via Galkayo. The latter was considered as the most viable for a region-to-region highway.

The second team of Chinese surveyors, combrising an advanced party of 23 technicians left for Beletwein on the 27th December 1971 to start their first step in the construction of the 1045 Km Highway between Beletwein and Burao.

The construction team will first make a detailed survey and design of the route to determine its starting point, its alignment and the towns and villages through which the Highway will pass. For instance, it has to be decided whether work should start from the Burao end or Beletwein — the alternative is whether to commence work at both ends simultaneously. The main towns already decided upon through which the Highway will pass are Dusa Mareb, Galkayo, Garoe and Las Anod.

There will also be a hydrological survey to investigate the possibility of well-drilling. The survey will go on for an indefinite period, but it may last upto three months before a thorough investigation can be made.

The need to build such a highway is of immeasurable importance since it will be the only road linkage or line of communication, between the capital and the other regions. The proposed highway will directly link five regions with the capital and thus will make travelling between them easier and quicker.

The highway between Burao and Beletwein is a 'hell-run' as it now stands. The statistics of truck-wreckage and the death rate is incredibly high. Traffic is always on the move with an average of twenty-four vehicles a day. The type of vehicles which can possibly travel on the road in its present condition are mainly big trucks, which transport sugar from the sugar factory at Jowhar to the regions. The smallest vehicle which travels on this road is the Landrover. The minimum time of travelling from one point to the other is two days.

A representative of the Chinese team said: «Since the project is quite a big one we will face various difficulties in the construction, but with the kind help of the SRC and the Somali Government, we hope we shall overcome these difficulties».

The new highway will be linked to

Mogadishu at Beletwein which lies 344 km. from the capital, through Jowhar.

The Mogadishu Fer-fer asphalt road of 374 km. was constructed by the Italian Fascist regime between 1935-1939 during the campaign against Ethiopia. It was planned to continue the road up to Harar, but the work was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. Recognising the importance of the Fer-fer—Mogadishu road as the main trunk road connecting the capital to the Northern Regions, the general consultants of the Ministry of Public Works were asked to submit a comprehensive report on the general condition of the road in 1966, and their recommendations for reconstruction, in response to a government request. They estimated that the required work, assuming that it would be executed by a private contractor, would cost about So. Shs. 18,000,000.

As the condition of the road has deteriorated since the last estimation, approximately So. Shs. 20,000,000 would be required to be spent if construction work comparable to that envisaged by the consultants in 1966 is to be carried out now by a contractor. .

At this point, the Government first approached the International Financing Institute for assistance in the reconstruction of the Fer-fer—Mogadishu road. The last request was presented to the IDA in 1971. None of these requests have been fruitful.

The reconstruction of the road assumed further importance after the People's Republic of China accepted the construction of the Beletwein—Burao highway. For their part, the Revolutionary Government, fulfilling the principle of self-reliance, decided to rehabilitate the 344 km. road by local means and effort.

The Highway Department prepared a report and suggested the best and cheapest method of reconstructing the Fer-fer Mogadishu road. Preparations for staff, equipment, and the establishment of camps had been initiated and have now been completed.

The total estimated cost of the project has been put approximately at So. Shs. 7,000,000 and the period of reconstruction about two years. The project which is scheduled to be completed in January 1973 started during the first week of January 1972.

The road was divided into sections, depending on the condition of each section.

The first, Mogadishu—Jowhar, is 90 km. Probably because of its proximity to the capital and the sugar industry, this section received more care than any other road in the country. Maintenance was not sufficient so the standard of the road declined. Major repair works and complete surface treatment were carried out by the Highway Department of the Ministry of Public Works on the Mogadishu—Balad stretch (35 km.) in 1968 and Balad—Jowhar stretch (55 km.) in 1971. Apart from a somewhat rough surface due to settlement depressions and corrugations, the body of the road is free from potholes and cracks« So it is now in a satisfactory condition.

The Jowhar Bulo Burti section of 130 km. is the worst section of the road. It has never been repaired since its construction in 1939. Furthermore the Jowhar—Mahadai stretch lies in a clayey terrain on a low embankment. Because of erosion of the shoulders and side slopes, the water stagnates on both sides of the road, and numerous structural failures have occured.

The Bulo Burti—Fer-fer section of 154 km. was also neglected and had not been maintained at all in the period 1939-1967. The Hiran road section has been provided with a modest allocation since 1967 and therefore some repair work has been carried out.

Fortunately, the section lies in favourable terrain, and apart from oxidation of bitumen and the normal weathering process, the structure of the road is, for the most part, still intact.

To arrest the process of disintegration, which has just started, 100 volunteers and materials have been diverted from Jowhar-Bulo Burti Project to this section. These volunteers, in conjunction with the Hiran Road Section staff and equipment will carry out deferred maintenance, including the repair of bridges, and preparation and stock piling of crushed stone (chipping) for complete surface treatment of the section in early 1943 by Highway Department.

Somalia, though lagging behind in the field of road communication, is trying her best to catch up and make good the efforts and time wasted or misused in the post-independence decade. In this respect, the Revolutionary Government hopes to link the entire country by 1977. The hopeful plans of the Government envisage 2049 km. of trunk roads linking all the eight Regions of the Republic by the end of 1970 or 1977. The proposed 2049 km. running between Kismayo, in one extreme of the Republic and Boramo, in the other extreme, can be seen in three parts. One thousand three hundred and twenty-nine kilometers (1,329) are existing roads under reconstruction. The reconstruction of the second part which comprises 410 km. has been accepted in principle to be done by the different international financing bodies such as the I.D.A. and the European Common Market. This includes the 130 km. road between Hargeisa and Borama and 280 km. linking Gole-Wein with Jelib. The other 310 km. is the existing trunk road awaiting linkage with the rest of the country.

The building of these roads, apart from its economic and cultural importance is also of significance in terms of national unity and security.

A DEMONSTRATION OF FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS

The Soviet-Somali statement, signed as a result of the visit to the Soviet Union of General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Somalia, is an important document which, by the acknowledgement of the world may serve as an example of friendly and equal relations between the countries.

The statement confirms that relations of sincere friendship and close cooperation in various spheres, relations based on the principles of respect for independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs exist between the USSR and the Somali Democratic Republic.

As a result of the talks a full identity of viewpoints has been reached on all the questions of interest to both countries, as well as in the assessment of a wide range of world issues both within the framework of the African continent and of general significance.

In the sphere of economic cooperation the statement points out the Soviet Union's concrete aid to the SDR. This includes the construction of a dam with irrigazion canals and a hydro-electric power station on the Juba River, in the Fanole area, the supply of machinery for the development of agriculture and cooperation in the development of a fishing industry.

Earlier, the Soviet Union had rendered aid in the construction of the port of Berbera, the meat packing plant in Kisimayu, the fishing cannery in Las-Khoreh and a dairy factory in Mogadishu. The further development of economic contacts between the USSR and the SDR will contribute to the strengthening of the State sector of the national economy and the liquidation of the consequences of the colonial past in Somalia's economy.

Speaking of the significance of the Soviet Union's economic cooperation with the SDR, the statement stresses that the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the SDR expressed profound gratitude for the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union in the economic development and in training national personnel and in strengthening the defence potential of the country.

The Member delegates who accompan-

Jaalle President Siyad, accompanied by USSR President Podgorny
honour at Moscow airport

ied the Presidente of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, General Mohamed Siad Barre and who undertook, together with him, the trip through the Soviet Union, could not but notice with what care and love he treated the Somali students whom he met everywhere in the country: in Moscow, Tashkent and Volgograd. This shows that the Supreme Revolutionary Council attaches great importance to the training of national personnel.

In considering international problems, the two sides declared that they proceed from their common desire to pursue peaceful policies aimed at strengthening friendship among nations and international cooperation. The statement noted with gratification the extensive coincidence of the stands of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Somalia on vital international problems. They condemned resolutely the aggress-

ive policy of Israel and the imperialist forces supporting it.

«The continuing occupation of the Arab territories by Israel», the statement points out, «is a serious threat to peace and international security».

The sides expressed feelings of deep concern over the situation in Indo-China in connection with the continuing US aggression and interference in the affairs of the countries of this area. They reaffirmed their solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, engaged in a heroic struggle against imperialist aggression, for freedom and independence of their countries.

The statement has attached much importance to the African problems. The sides declared their full solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia for freedom and national independence. The sides also noted the great importance of the Mogadishu Declaration adopted recently by the Heads of State of

Jaalle President Siyad lays a wreath of flowers at Lenin Mausoleum

Jaalle President Siyad in a happy mood in one of the Soviet Republics

East and Central Africa, which rejects a «dialogue» with the racialist regime of South Africa.

The statement stressed the role of the Organization of African Unity for promoting the cohesion of independent African States. Both sides noted that the imperialists are trying to isolate the African States from their true friends—countries of the socialist community. For this the imperialists resort more and more often to the policy of anti-communism and anti-sovietism.

The visit of Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the SDR, to the Soviet Union has promoted not only the further development of friendly relations between the USSR and the SDR, but also the consolidation of world peace.

CAMBODIAN DELEGATION IN SOMALIA

with the President, Jaalle General Mohamed Siyad Barre.

In this introductory piece we review the latest developments in Cambodia.

Cambodia is situated in South East Asia. It is one of the Indo-Chinese states and neighbours Laos, Thailand and both sectors of Vietnam.

Forests cover three-quarters of Cambodia whose capital is Phenom-Penh.

Cambodia fell under French colonial domination in 1863, joined the French Overseas Community in 1949 and won independenc in 1953.

From that date the khemer people, under the leadership of its Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, closely followed the policy of neutrality and non-alignment which rejects dependence and areas of influence.

The Khemer people have taken upon their shoulders the task of liberating their Indo-Chinese brethren in Vietnam and Laos, and have thrown in all their power to help and support the heroic fight waged by their Vietnamese and Laotian brethren with unsurpassed bravery.

The Khemer people and their progressive leadership did not also spare any efforts in supporting the cause of liberation and the struggle being waged by the African people against Colonialism, international imperialism and racism.

The Khemer people and their progressive leadership have been confronted with plots, intrigues and machinations for the toppling of the anti-colonial and anti-neo-colonial regime. International imperialism has used traitorous, reactionary lackeys such as Lon Nol and Cyric

Jaalle Siyad receives the Cambodian Foreign Minister in Mogadisuh

A high-ranking delegation led by Mr. Sarin Chak, Foreign Minister of the Royal Government of the Cambodian National Unity, paid a visit to the Somali Democratic Republic recently.

The delegation had a cordial meeting Mattak in toppling the Head of State and his progressive government when Prince Norodom Sihanouk was on an official visit abroad.

But Prince Sihanouk did not succumb to the reactionary plot and did not let it continue to stifle the Khemer people who love freedom and hate colonialism and imperialism. He has made Peking, the capital of the Peoples Republic of China, the citadel of the Revolution and the Revolutionaries, the seat of his Governm-ent, has continued the liberation movement and has answered the clique that usurped power with revolutionary violence.

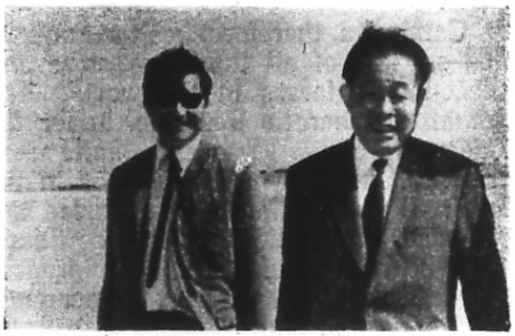
The entire Khemer people rose like one man in order to deal a final blow to the traitorous bands which are basically supported by international imperialism and the aggressive Cento.

Cambodia, therefore, has the unqualified support of all the progressive and peace-loving forces in the world. The Somali Democratic Republic, under the leadership of the President, Jaalle General Mohamed Siyad Barre, was in the forefront of the states that supported and extended recognition to the legitimate government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and has strongly condemned the traitorous band; the lackeys of colonialism and neo-colonialism — the clique of Lon Nol and Cyric Mattak.

The brave liberation forces of the Royalist Government of the Cambodian National Unity have won great victories by liberating over 80% of the Cambodian territory. It is bound to secure the final victory, so long as it believes in the principle that holds, «Power springs from the barrel of the gun» and so long as its cause is a just one.

We wish the Khemer people a speedy victory over colonialism and its puppets. Victory is ours.

Cambodian people are resolved to win victory.



CAMBODIA'S POSITION

Chief Editor A. M. Arab
Talked to the Cambodian delegation

What is the situation in Cambodia?

THE situation in Cambodia now is very favourable for the struggle of the Cambodian people. During the last 20 months and despite the support of the U.S. Air Force and the South Vietnamese puppet troops to the traitorous clique of Phenom-Pen, the people's liberation armed forces have been inflicting one military disaster after another on the enemies. From November to the beginning of December, the People's liberation armed forces of Cambodia have destroyed Lon Nol's army which numebers 20,000 soldiers, using modern weapons and supported by the U.S. Air Force. Thousands and thousands of enemy soldiers who did not retreat from the battle field were killed or wounded. All the survivors abandoned their armaments, including heavy tanks, military vehicles and guns. We have captured 4,500 enemy soldiers as prisoners.

During the last two weeks we have captured one important military post, Batheny, which was defended by 500 enemy soldiers. More than 200 enemy soldier were killed. At the present time the People's liberation armed forces of Cambodia are attacking all military posts just 20 or 30 km from the capital phenom - Penh. The capital's airport was also frequently attacked by Cambodian patriotic forces, destroying more than 30 aircraft.

All these brilliant victories have caused great difficulty for the traitorous clique. They were divided into many feuding groups, and the economic situation deteriorated from day to day. Life in the still puppet-controlled Phenom-Penh is extremely difficult. The prices of food and other necessities have gone up three or four times.

The Just cause of Cambodian people.

The struggle of the Cambodian people is to defend a just cause. The cause is just because the Cambodian people have never carried out any aggression against other countries including the United States of America. On the contrary, the Cambodians became victims of foreign aggressors, namely the American imperialists. The Cambodian people are fighting to defend their independence and sovereignty. The cause of the Cambodian people is the same cause, which all justice—loving peoples throughout the world uphold and support.

The Interference of U.S. Imperialists.

The U.S. forces sent troops to invade Cambodia from April to July 1970. After that the American imperialists have been sending their Airforce, including the strategic bomber B 52, to raid Cambodia everyday. They destroyed temples, houses and plantations and killed civilians, including women and children and old people in Phenom-Penh. There are hundreds of U.S. military advisers who command the puppet army.

The impression of this visit.

We are quite impressed by the revolutionary spirit of this country and we have observed the progress made in this country. Mogadiscio is a fast-growing city. In the countryside there are great efforts to build and improve the lives of the people and everywhere we have seen the Somali youth working with great enthusiasm and confidence. The leaders and the people of Somalia adopt a clear-cut policy of anti-imperialism. Especially, they firmly support the struggle of Indo-Chinese peoples.

We wish the friendly Somali people greater success and victories in defending their independence, territorial integrity and in building socialism.

A PRODUCTIVE LAND

1. - Grape-fruit
2. - Banana

AHEART TRANSPLANTION IS ABSDUTELY NECES= SARY IN YOUR CASE WE WILL GIVE YOU A BLACKMANS HEART

1

NO DOCTOR. I AM WHITE MAN- LIKE SNOW HOW CAN I HAVE A BLACKMAN'S HEART I WILL BE AUTCAOTED FROM THE WHITE SOCIETY

2

SOUTH-AFRICA HOSPITAL

OH COME ON... DON'T BE SILLY... NO BODY WILL SEE IT. IT WONT BE ON YOUR FACE

3

AHA... YOU SEE... THE POINT IS THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN MUST HAVE A BLACK HEART

4

Ibrahim Megag Samater the Secretary of State for Industry.

OPEN DISCUSSION ON SOCIALISM

Jaalle Siad addressing civil servants, armed forces and students on November 14th 1971 said: «The Soviet Union has been the first country to adopt Socialism. But it adopted Socialism in such a way that it could match with their local conditions and we are doing the same thing». Jaalle Siad Barre at the opening of Bottigo Orientation Course, 1st November 1971, he said: «There is only one Socialism and one Capitalism. The one Socialism is Scientific Socialism which is the system in the world's outlook in the progress of mankind, in man's economic and cultural development».

The two statements of the President imply that Scientific Socialism includes certain rules and realisations that are invariably effective and applicable to all nations and all countries — to the USSR as well as to Somalia — and that have to be adopted in such a way that they could match with the local conditions of a particular country for example the USSR or Somalia. And the President's statement also said that only this scientific socialism is true and real socialism.

The New Era opens a decision on the basic question of nation-building in our country. Therefore, we have invited Jaalle Ibrahim Megag Samater Secretary of State for Industry to give his knowledge on the subject.

In writing on this subject emphasis must be made on the following questions:

1. What are those general rules in realisations that are effective in any given society?
2. What does it mean adopting those relisation to the local condition of Somalia?
3. Why is it that only scientific Socialism is true and real-Socialism?
4. Some people maintain that as result of the backwardness of emerging countries and the absence of substantial industrial production, there can be no talks of class-struggle. Do you subscribe to this view?
5. What are the best possible means of uniting the democratic forces for the purpose of transforming the national democratic Revolution into a Socialist one?

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROCRESS

Before starting discussion on this important subject I want to forestall one possible misunderstanding. Bourgeois Sociologists speak of nation-building in the newly independent countries as meaning the creation of a new nation out of diverse groups, tribes, etc.. The concept of nation-building discussed here is much wider than that. It does not only mean creating a unified nation but also denotes the struggle to steer that nation to economic and social progress.

Scientific Socialism differs from the various brands of «Socialisms» preceding it in that it lays bare the roots of social change and points the way to direct that social change after fully comprehending its mechanism. It is the culmination of human thought in the fields of philosophy, economics and political theory. Socialists before Marx were naturaly angered by the injusticies and inhuman practices that prevailed in society at their epochs. They wanted to overcome and destroy these injustices and inhuman practices. But their schemes and efforts came to nought because they were not based on sound historical knowledge of the causes of these injustices. Once this is missing any attempt to change society becomes nothing but a sentimental outburst.

The cornerstone of scientific socialists' world outlook is historical materialism (or the materialist conception of history). The basis of social change is man's material condition. Human beings must eat, cloth themselves, and have a shelter before they can think of prayers and philosophy. They must produce the primary needs before they tackle the secondary ones. In producing the necessary elements of life human beings enter into definite production relations. In the words of Marx and Engels «these relations are determined by the mode of production.» In turn, these relations of production reflect themselves in society in the form of classes. On top of this basis is erected all the subjective conditions of ideology and consciousness (what is normally termed superstructure such as philosophy, religion, etc.). «It is man's existence that determines his consciousness and not consciousness his existence» say Marx and Engels in their early book **The German Ideology.**

Applying this analysis one can see a clearer picture of historical development. History, instead of being a collection of stories and situational descriptions, becomes a dynamic process of human development. We cannot go into the important topic of applying historical materialism to historical development in this brief space. We can only point out that research in the social sciences has made only too obvious the fact that changes (or development) in the mode of production has led to changes in social relations — not always peacefully, but sometimes by violent revolutions. For instance, the bourgeois revolution of the 18th century in Europe was a reflection of the fact that the technical basis of production has changed and could no longer withstand feudal restrictions. Hence the struggle of the bourgeois class against feudal political power; and hence also the bourgeois ideology emphasizing individualism, political suffrage, and laisseze-faire. All this in its time constituted progress. But bourgeois development also carried in it the seeds of its destruction. Just as the changes in the mode of production implied new techniques and application of large investments of capital, so on the social side the class of wage earners (the proletariat) grew in number — a class torn away from its roots in land or property, and with nothing but their labour power. At the same time, the huge investments in industry necessitated the combination of several capitalists to pool their resources. Production became social. But the relations of production — that is the private ownership of the means of production — did not correspond with this social reality. It has to be overcome. Hence the dawn of Socialist Revolution.

Parallel with historical materialism

Marx also developed the concept of the surplus value in the field of economics. Through painstaking analysis in **Capital** he has shown that the source of profits lies in the accumulation of surplus labour power divested from the worker. In fully developed capitalism the worker faces his product as an alien object to which he is subjected. To overcome this alienation and to restore to mankind the control and direction of its own technology (rather than vice versa) becomes the urgent task of the socialist revolution. This can only be performed with the leadership of the proletariat — the most downtrodden class, the class representing the vital interests of society in general.

At this juncture one can rightly ask: What is the relevance of all this to a small backward country? How can we talk about proletarian revolution in a country like Somalia with no industry at all? To answer these objections we have first of all to clear some misconceptions. We are not talking here of ready made models that can be transplanted anywhere with the utmost ease. We are talking here of a method of analysis, of understanding reality in order, therefore, to change it. This method of analysis — historical materialism — is universal. The effort to change society — after comprehending its structure with the help of the analysis — is particular varying with time and space.

Secondly we must understand that our country, like most post-colonial backward countries, was capitalist (before the Revolution), however distorted this capitalism may be. Capitalism has covered nearly the whole world during the latter decades of the 19th Century. This was as a result of its relentless hunt for markets — markets both for its finished goods and sources of raw materials for its factories. The story of European Coloialism over Africa and Asia and Western neo-colonialism over Latin America is too well—known to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the development of advanced capitalist states and the underdevelopment of the colonial world are not different phenomena. In fact, they are two sides of the same coin. The role of the African slave trade and the conquest of the South American silver mines in the accumulation of early capital, and that of colonial exploitation in the later development of capitalism is too well documented in history. Their richness is our poverty and vice—versa.

Moreover, colonial capitalism was not only a matter of exploitation. It has also introduced capitalist production relations with its consequent results of classes and educational remolding. However, this capitalism of the colonial era was not a progressive one. It was destined to make the colonial countries miserable appendages of the metrople. In this way capitalism was able to placate its own workers — by the increasing standard of living made possible by the exploitation of the colonial world as Lenin has brilliantly shown in his book: **Imperialism — The Last Stage of Capitalism.** Therefore, the revolt of the peoples of the Third World is not simply a matter of national independence. In the true Marxist-Leninist view the masses of the Third World who had been doubly exploited both by international imperialism and the local upper classes it has created and supported assume the function of a proletariat in world scale. Technically these masses are not the product of industrialization (in the sense Marx defined the proletariat) but they are the product of world capitalist expoitation. They, therefore, carry the banner of proletarian revolution. Hence it is not true to say that the absence of an industrial working class precludes the establishment of socialist society. Rather the task is to build industrial progress through socialism after doing away with exploitation and returning the means of production and distribution to the people.

It is true that class differentiation in societies like ours is still nebulous. But this does not preclude their existence. They exist in embryo. The working class is small in number but is growing. It has not yet broken its ties completely with the peasantry and the nomads, while the latter form the bulk of our population. Like the working class the bourgeoisie is also very small in number. Owing to neo—colonial conditions ours was not a national progressive bourgeoisie developing industry and capital. On

the contrary it engaged whatever meagre resources it had in trade and real estate — two nonproductive sectors when compared with industry. The growing bourgeoisie also included servants of the state (the higher echelons) both civilian and armed. The latter two where the product of the colonial schooling system. The ruling politicians mainly came from these three sections of the bourgeoisie.

The outbreak of the October Revolution with its democratic and socialist ideology provides us with the historical task of forestalling the full blooming of the class society, which in any case was bound to appear as a distorted comprador type. From what has been pointed out earlier it is quite evident that the capitalist road to development is out of the question. For the backward countries it has been vetoed by world imperialism. To build the nation — to unify and steer it towards economic and social progress — the Revolution had to be socialist. The main task of mobilizing our forces for socialist construction presents itself. Many important steps have been taken in this regard:

(1) the abolition of the political institutions of the previous system;

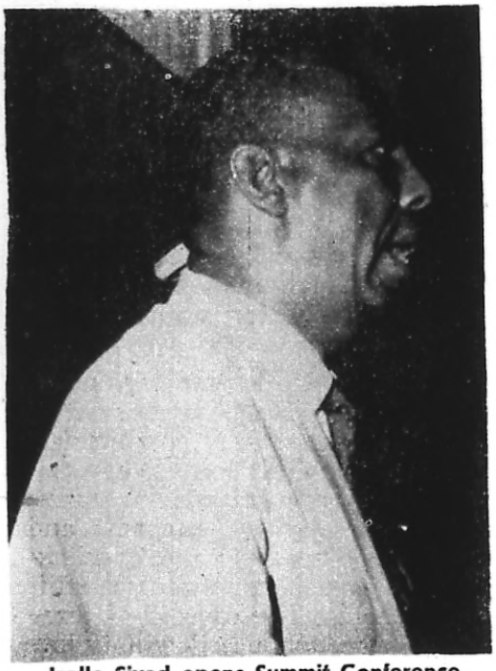
(2) increasing the state sector by nationalization measures both in production and distribution;

(3) putting the economy on the road to planning principles; and

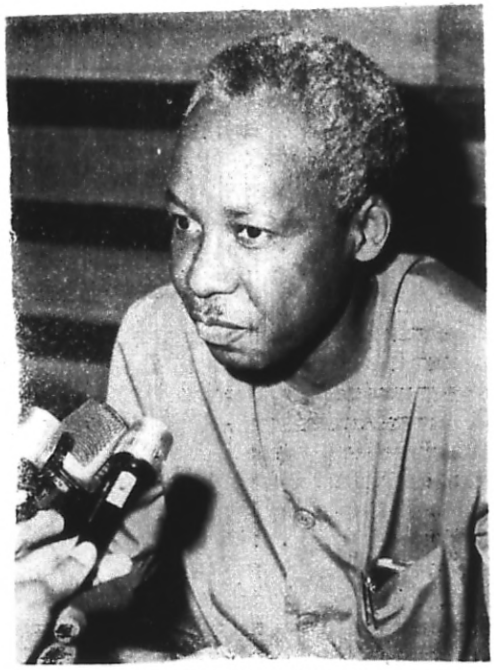
(4) orienting the people through various campaigns to prepare them ideologically for national construction.

Still remaining to be done are many important things. Needless to say, on the economic side we have just started. On the political level we have to pay more attention to organization. We have to organize our workers, peasants and students through separate and interlinked organizations until an organized united front appears. The success of these attempts will be twofold: it will isolate the enemy (internal and external» who has now been hit, and it will give our masses more direct participation in decision-making. Then we will have gone a long way in the construction of Socialism.

Creture in the service of the Revolution
Abdullahi Gharshi



Jaalle Siyad opens Summit Conference for East and Central Africa.



President Nyerere addressing the Conference

SOMALIA'S HISTORIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Mohamed Ega. Ali

THE foreign policy of our Revolution springs primarily from the First Charter of the October 21 Revolution. The Revolution has defined its policy stand in accordance with the interests of its people. Our country has, therefore, left the spheres of colonial and monopolistic influence.

The Revolution has liberated our country from dependence and submission. It has effectively contributed to and has adopted the causes of peoples struggling against colonialism and imperialism Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Revolutionary Somalia has played a more positive role in the cause of world peace and security and in the support of the national liberation movements in Africa.

— a review

of the proceedings

and decisions

of far — reaching

significance

for AFRICA

Our country has for the first time played host to the Seventh Summit Conference of the East and Central African Heads of State and Government. Our country has been the focus of attention, sympathy and support of the peace-loving and progressive nations of the world.

The discussion of the items on the agenda was a clear proof of the revolutionary course and of the line of the anti-imperialism and anti-white racist minority in Africa to which the October 21 Revolution, under the leadership of President Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre, is committed.

The East and Central African Conference has produced important resolutions and recommendations which will have a great influence on the consolidation of the economic and commercial relations of the countries of the region — a condition which further helped the consolidation and unity of Africa.

The Mogadishu Declaration, which the Conference had adopted, is a historic and imoprtant document in the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and the white racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, and in the consolidation of the national liberation movements. of the African peoples like the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, which calls for the elimination of colonialism by armed struggle, which our country also supports as a guide to the progressive African approach.

The President of the SRC, counselling the African people explained: «The subjugation of the African peoples in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the indigenous inhabitants of the Portuguese-held territory is a testimony of our feeble efforts to combat this evil imposed upon our brothers against their will. The liberation movements are not functioning properly because of the inadequacy and the lack of funds and materials. Africa is the continent of the future and it has wide and divergent enemies and it is our duty to crush and eliminate them by unity, solidarity and continuous struggle to the end.»

The President of the SRC and the leader of the Revolution of the Somali masses ,calls for the establishment of the society of the democratic national revolution as a historic stage in the evolution of the non-capitalist way of development and the achievement of socialist construction, and thereby fulfil the aspirations of the Somali masses for a better and a brighter future in which the masses can, by relying on themselves, build a free and proud society by struggling against colonialism and imperialism everywhere and at every moment.

The President of the SRC said about the Africa of today: «Africa is today moving towards the achievement of tangible unity of aim and towards the taking of common steps in protecting itself from any aggression. In this connection, Somalia will always, whether in collaboration with the Organisation of African Unity or with other African countries, indulge in finding new solutions which will enable create adequate means of deterring external aggression whether directly or indirectly.»

What the President means is the necessity of standing up against colonial machinizations that are aimed against the progressive, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism in a single solid front in order to frustrate colonial plans that are abording the African revolution. For this reason came the Mogadishu Declaration in order to clearly express the true stand of the October 21 Revolution with regard to the struggle for liberating Africa.

The Seventh Conference of the East and Central African States which was held in Mogadishu was attended by the Presidents of the respective member countries. The meeting coincided with plans for the celebration of the second anniversary of Somalia's October 21 Revolution, which was ignited from the depths of our people's miseries that lasted ten years. Our people ,happy and proud of the achievements of their democratic national revolution, welcomed their guests on solid revolutionary ground. Not only Africa, but also the entire peace-loving world shared with us our happiness, vigilance, endurance and belief in our Revolution.

Amid this atmosphere that was charged with revolutionary enthusiasm, the President opened the Conference. His speech depicted our stand with regard to

the African continent, its struggles and aspirations.

The President suggested three points at the Conference:

a) To scrutinise the outside assistance given to the African states and to see whether this assistance could be dispensed with.
b) To offer assistance directly to the African peoples who are still under colonialism.
c) To focus attention on the vital interests which cannot be made of secondary importance to national interests.

The President talked about African unity and said: «If Africa eliminates the barrier that was put between the various African states, it can also achieve unity By unity Africa will not only be respectable in the eyes of the world, but it will also become a great political and economic power which no one can slight.

Heads of the participating States and Governments also talked about the importance of the Conference, the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, the elimination of the racist regimes in Africa, regional cooperation in the fields of economy, agriculture, and tourism, and commended Somalia under the rule and leadership of Jaalle Siyad.

The Conference was a great success and approved all the recommendations of the Foreign Ministers attending the Conference, which was held from October 16 to 18, 1971.

The Conference approved the membership of Equatorial Guinea and Gabon into the Organisation of East and Central African states. It also approved the status of permanent observers to the Egyptian Arab Republic, Algiers, and Guinea as well as the African liberation movements which are recognised by the OAU.

The Conference was, by approving its recommendations and the Mogadishu Declaration, an important historic event. The Mogadishu Declaration has underscored the African stand on the situation in the south of the continent as had been embodied in the Lusaka Manifesto and the resolutions adopted by the Heads of State and Governments in the Summit Conference held in Khartoum on..... 1970.

The President of the SRC said at the end of the Conference that all the member-states in this regional grouping undertake «to put at the disposal of Zambia and its courageous people all the materials and other forms available when Zambia requires them in the defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity.»

The President said that the Conference had approved a historic document entitled, «The Mogadishu Declaration», which is considered to be an extension of the Lusaka Manifesto. Despite the fact that the Manifesto had focussed attention on the possibility of finding a peaceful solution to the South-African issue, yet our experiences in the past had clearly shown that there was no other way to liberation except by armed struggle, which we used, and to which we still extend our unreserved support.

The President said, «The Mogadishu Declaration is a true reflection of our position with regard to the issue of the elimination of colonialism and the liberation of the African peoples who are still under colonial domination.

In reality the Conference had reflected a new posture of the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and racism and of regional cooperation in the economic and social fields, — a situation which enhances the laying down of well studied foundations for the creation of a united Africa that is free from all sorts of despotism, exploitation and colonialism.

Somalia is committed to the cause of African unity, the elimination of colonialism, positive non-alignment and the struggle against racial discrimination. Our support is not only a mere word by mouth but it is a concrete one supported by actual facts and practice. The success of the Seventh Summit Conference of the East and Central African states is to be considered a testimony to the combative principles and ideals of the Somali Revolution as well as the confidence and ability of the Somali people in preserving their true national independence.

It also bears testimony to unshakeable faith in its Revolution that came to put the Somali individual squarely in front of his historic responsibilites for construction and social progress.

SOMALI CULTURE —and its immense richness

by

OMAR AU NUH

Somali Culture is extraordinarily vast and complex. It is extremely rich both in form and content. Its vast literature and great galaxy of legendary characters act as a living source of our ancient past from which we draw a limitless inspiration. In this inexhaustible cultural field still existing in the memories of the older generation, we surely have a priceless heritage of which one could really be proud of.

It is indisputable that the Somali people are poetic by nature. Even their simple activities, are expressed poetically. The proper Somali poetry is classified into five main different divisions of the same value but various dispositions (Gabay, Geeraar, Jiifto, Masafo, Buraanbur). They act as a strong weapon both in war and peace and could be utilized in both ways. In fact, a poet is highly respected as well as being feared because of the lashings of his tongue.

Apart from the proper poetry, a myriad of other songs—pastoral, agricultural, marine, etc.—enrich the field. Each of these songs has, again, infinite subdivisions of varieties. For instance, in the pastoral songs, the camel song group is as many as seven subdivions of different alliteration and tone. At every move made towards caring for the camels, a camel herder has to recite a specially composed song. e.g.

1. SONGS FOR GRAZING CAMELS.

When camels are being grazed or taken to the grazing areas, the camelherd sings to show how dear camels are to him. He imagines that the camels would act according to his directives and thus encourages it to whatever he thinghs is best for it.

In the following song the singer tells of the value of a she-camel in comparison with men and women. He believes that a woman's death is nothing towards that of a man or a she-camel; stating that when a man dies, his family would suffer for the lack of a protector and for getting short of children of the same genealogy exactly as the camel owner might die of famine if he loses his herd:

Geerida Haween,	Of the death of women,
Guud la fidho iyo	One is (only) made a widow;
Guursi laga qaad	And one simply seeks for new a marriage
Geerideydana,	But of my death,
Guryo ba'ay iyo	Families would suffer a lot
Goblan laga qaad	And human production would decrease.
Geeridaadana,	And of your death,
Gaawe madhan iyo,	An empty vessel
Gaajo laga qaad.	And famine would replace.

2. SONGS FOR DRIVING CAMELS HOME.

Camels are also sung to when they are being driven home in evening:

Habaar qabihii,	Lest the unblessed one (the hyena)
Hooyadaa diley,	That killed your mother
Yuu ku heerine,	Hurts you,
Haruuga carraw.	Run home (for your life).

3. SONGS FOR GIVING CAMELS THE SALTY CLAY, 'ARRO.

There is a kind of salty clay called 'Arro, given to camels, occasionally, to increase the calcium content of the animal's body and a low, toned song, which is well known to camels and which, if heard by the camels, would make anybody unable to stand against it, is sung:

Boonjiga 'Arradaa,	Of the best parts of the 'Arro,
Baadh-baadhatoy!	Search and find it yourself.

4. SONGS FOR WATERING CAMELS.

When camels are watered, they are again rewatered to take their fill, and in both times, a song which is different from the other is sung:

Sidii sagal roob,	Like the Sagal rains,
Oo si san u da'ay,	That had abundantly rained,
Waa sugeynaye,	We were waiting for it (the camels)
Maysa soo shubay?	Has it all come (to be watered)?

5. SONGS FOR REWATERING CAMELS, durduur:

Sool baad tegiye,	You'll go to a barren, waterless land,
Soddon baad qadiye,	You'll miss water for thirty long days.
Sulubey biyaha,	(Therefore) Of this water, Miss Sulub,
Sidaan doonayiyo,	Drink it gracefully, as I wish you to,
Siibsiib u qabo,	Filtering it «with your mouth).
Suluqana ka reeb.	

6. SONGS FOR LOADING & UNLOADING BURDEN CAMELS.

When settlements move from one post to another grazing area, the burden camel is loaded with the Somali aqal. Women usually do this kind of task of loading and unloading the burden camel and they very sweetly and rythmically sing to entertain themselves from the heavy work:

Sida caynku kuu guby baa,
Cagtu ii dalooshaa.

As the 'Ayn string burnt the skin
on your stomach, so do I have riddles
on my feet (because of the long walks
bare-footed, on rocks and thorn).

7. SONGS FOR LEADING THE BURDEN CAMEL.

When the land is dry and the settlements are far from wells a caravan is arranged to draw water from the nearest water-post. A big number of camels are tail-tied to one another and a person holds the lead of the first camel. They walk forth for days, even weeks, and so they sing at night to make the camel feel awake and energetic:

Libaax 'ii' da ma daayo,
Geel Hareeri ma daayo,
Hoobaanow labadeennuna,
Habeen guure ma daynno.

A lion never leaves roaring,
Camels never get tired of
(eating) the Hareeri plant,
And we two, Mr. Hoobaan,
We will never leave night walk.

This is only an example, but so are the cattle song, horse song, oving song and donkey song groups; each of which is as many or more as the said camel song group. Same as those are the marine songs, dance songs, work songs, weaving songs, lullabies..... Somali stories, sayings, fables, legends and riddles as well as Somali drama, plays and music are other valuable aspects of our culture. Somali History, Science, Arts and Instituitions with their complexity and richness Should receive wide public attention.

All these are to be collected, preserved and disseminated not only by an organization but by all scholars. The elder generation of our ancestors had done their part in preserving our traditions and cultural heritage by passing it from mouth to mouth so as to preserve them till today; and the tide turns to us—the younger generation of today. The new revolutionary generation of Somalia!

Teachers, editors, artists and journalists are to play their role in this field and to come out of their hiding places behind the screen. «At a time of turbulence, when the society needs all kinds of new ideas, when the continent is in its most creative period, the artist must give his best efforts to the creation of new ideas. «Where society is a castle, the Minister of culture is the draw-bridge. He can keep the couriers in or out of the castle,» an African commentator writes.

What would this generation do? Whould they bury this valuable treasure of cultural heritage on the adoption of the pressing Foreign culture? I hope not.

To be in line with our sacred revolution, every Somali should put the responsibility of preserving our culture on his own shoulders and act immediately and cooperatively:

In being together, hands have strength,
A fence could be carried when the left hand helps,
But if the right hand is alone, it cannot cut even a piece of meat.

MPLA SPEARHEADS ANGOLA'S STRUGGLE

Fourth February, 1972 marks eleven years of armed struggle in Portuguese colonized Angola. On that day, Angolan militants swept the colonial prisons in Luanda, the capital of Angola in a massive effort to release the nationalists. However, in a densely populated centre, it is difficult to beat the enemy without thorough preparatory measures.

Agostino Neto, the President of the National Liberation Movement (MPLA) divides the struggle into three phases:— First the struggle in the city. From there it was transferred to the country—side for strengthening its position. In the last phase the struggle comes back into the city, where the final and decisive confrontation will take place.

Armed struggle in Angola has developed in a remarkable degree as to ideology and the extent of activity. At present as much as one third of the surface of Angola, about 500,000 Km, is under the control of the MPLA and the people. The liberated areas are mostly situated in the Eastern part of the country: the provinces of MOXICO, CUANDO-CUBANGO and a part of the province of Luanda.

The bulk of the struggle is witnessed in the centre of the country, about 600 Km from the Zambian border. There are now altogether five regions, the last of them has been recently liberated. This region lies farthest in the West from Zambia, in other words it is closest to the coast. Its area is rapidly growing, for the struggle of the guerrilla does not lay behind nor does it stop to holding the control of the already liberated areas. The front keeps moving toward the West all the time and the situation becomes more and more difficult for the Portuguese. This is proven by their new tactics of using poisons as well as their latest large offensive of four attacks, which started last spring and ended about the middle of Autumn. The aim was to regain certain important areas in the liberated regions and form a strong defense line through Angola. The offensive did not achieve its goal, however. The Portuguese could not occupy any of the areas held by the MPLA nor could they establish new bases. In other words, the front line advances, and the guerrilla administration already have plans about the sixth region, where the struggle is gradually spreading.

The liberation of the sixth region means that the MPLA and the struggle itself are occupying a new type of territory. A new pase has started. Up to the present day, the struggle has been led in the country-side, in a rural environment which is economically underdeveloped. The population is sparse there, and the supporting forces have mainly been farmers or hunters.

In the sixth region there is a mountain range and the guerrilla leaders feel that if it can be occupied no troops will be able to drive them away or hinder their activity.

The new phase will force Angola to face directly its real enemy; the international capital. So far the contact between them has been more or less indirect, but when the struggle approaches the mines and the factories and the interests of the international capitalists or Western financiers will be in direct danger. How the investors, which means governments in the Western world, will react is yet to see.

But it is certain that they will react in one way or another. And most likely it will be by increasing the help to the Portuguese ,at least in the beginning of the struggle in which they must now openly partake. Even now the Western countries are actively involved in the war. Not only financial support in the form of investments given the Portuguese, but also arms are provided either directly or through NATO. Without this support the war in Angola as well as in the other colonies would cost too much for Lisbon. More than a half of the yearly budget of the Portuguese government is already spent on these wars, and the expenditure are continuously increasing. This is why the EFTA too, has become a very important source of support to Portugal by improving its economy. Besides the participation by the EFTA, all other kind of economic cooperation helps the government of Portugal.

The real international confrontation in its full extent is yet to come, since the new phase of the struggle has only just started. The length of the war depends on it.

Yet we cannot underestimate the dimensions of the threat posed to the liberation of Angola by the neighbouring racist minority regimes in Southern Africa which have succeeded in enlisting the support of certain reactionary independent African States like Malawi etc.. The problem is further complicated by the colonial domination of Mozambique and Namibia. A situation like this is naturally cotnrary to the immediate liberation of Angola.

Unfortunately, none of the neighbouring African countries with the exception of Zambia are working for the interest of the African cause in the light of their prevailing policies. On the contrary they are an offensive ground from where pressure and oppression against African Liberation can be waged. In other words they are a bastion for onslaught and white supremacy, which is the common interest of all imperialists in Africa. These imperialist elements have joined-in forces to rob the African of his wealth and land. This is evident in the operation of Portugal and other NATO countries in Mozambique where they are building the gigantic £102 Million Cabora Bassa Dam in Tete Province only 60 miles from the Rhodesian border. The Cabora Bassa Dam will be built by ZAMCO Internatinoal Consortium which is composed of a large number of Western Companies (W. Germany, France, Portugal etc.) headed by South Africa's Anglo-American Company. As a result of the construction of this Dam, some 24,000 African peasants will be evacuated from the region and one million white settlers will be brought from Europe and elsewhere to cultivate the irrigated land along the stretch of the Zambesi. The exploitation of mineral wealth will be opened to Western Companies.

When completed, the Cabora Bassa Dam fill produce annually 17 million KW or 70% more than the Aswan High Dam and this makes it one of the biggest projects of its kind in the world. The first phase of the project scheduled for 1974 will cost £15 million Sterling.

The member States of the OAU raised a warning that Cabora Bassa would result in the permanent entrenchment of Portuguese white minority in Africa and the creation of another industrialised South Africa. The implications of the

Cabora Bassa have also been condmned by both individual countries like Tanzania, Zambia and Somalia as well as the leaders of the last East and Central African States Conference. These leaders meeting in Mogadiscio for the 7th Summit have declared in the document of Mogadishu Declaration «there is no way left to the liberation of Southern Africa except armed struggle to which we already give and will increasingly continue to give our fullest support.» This was only an embodiment of the Lusaka Manifesto which says, «as long as a peaceful evolution is hindered by the men who are in power in Southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the peoples of these territories all the support that we can master in their struggle against their oppressors».

There is a strategic and idcological means of confronting imperialist manoeuvres in Africa. On the ideological plan, the independent African countries must adopt political ideology opposed to that of imperialism. The imperialists have Capitalism as the basis of their political and economic philosophy. They found it right to use the Africans as slaves because it was necessary to exploit the African manpower in the American plantations and in the industrial transformation in the 18th century in Europe. Thus, according to imperialist philosphy, the exploitation of man by man is an accepted concept under a capitalist system. The African Governments cannot follow the foot-path of the colonialist forces. It is, therefore, inevitable for them to adopt a common ideology opposed to Capitalism which can bring social justice and equality among the African people.

In the strategical war, apart from having an all-African High Command, it is incumbent upon all the independent African States to support the African Liberation Movements both morally and materially to help their oppressed brothers throw the shackles of colonialism. Progressive African States like Tanzania, Zambia, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Guinea and Somalia have already, at the individual level, and inside the OAU displayed their unequivocal support. Others are expected to follow suit. If all the African countries join their forces, it is certain that they will all have victory and defeat the enemy.

The liberation of Angola occupies a pivotal place in the struggle against colonial and minority domination in Africa. In this just struggle the peoples of Angola will in the final analysis achieve victory against the Portuguese invader notwithstanding any difficulties.

A. BENTO–RIBEIRO OF THE MPLA TALKS TO NEW ERA ABOUT THE MOVEMENT AND ITS SUCCESSES TO DATE

by Kaltum Iman

Q. — Many people believe that the African Liberation Movements are inactive in their effort on the liberation war. Where does the MPLA stand as far as this arguement is concerned?

A. — The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, started the armed struggle for independence on 4 February 1961, by an attack on the colonial prisons and barracks in Luanda, the capital of Angola. That historic event has not been an isolated act of rebellion, but the begining of the Liberation War, which now spreads out in Angola. At that time many African states were still ruled by French, English and Spanish colonialists and decolonisation of Africa was at its very beginning. The Angolan people very soon realized, that there was no way left to approach the Portuguese colonialists

and this is the most concrete evidence of our determination in the liberation struggle. In March 1968 we have been honoured by the presence in one liberated area of the military commission of OAU, who observed on-the-spot the advance of the liberation struggle led by the MPLA.

Q. — What are the main successes and difficulties of the MPLA?

A. — In August 1971 the Portuguese forces evacuated the Karipande Barracks in the district of Mexico, after a series of attacks by MPLA freedom-fighters since February. This victory has high significance for the MPLA, because as said above, commander Henda died there in 1968 during an attack. This victory symbolises for us the will of our people to fight until final victory, regardless of all sacrifices. In the political field, the withdrawal of recognition of the «so-called» Angolan governement in exile (GRAE) by the 8th Summit of Heads of State and Government of the OAU proved that the MPLA alone represents the Angolan people's struggle for independence. It was the reparation of an error and an honour due to the effort of our guerrillas and militants.

In the diplomatic field we have won a significant battle with the Conference in Support of the Liberation Struggle in the Portuguese Colonies, held in Rome in July 1970. In fact, only the support given by NATO to Portugal makes Portugal's suppression war in Africa possible, since it is the poorest country in Europe and has no industry to build helicopters planes or guns. Portugal is indeed an underdeveloped country, with an illiteracy rate of 40%. Following statistics give us an idea further on, about its real weakness: a population of 8,56 million in a territory of 34.500 sq. miles (14 times smaller than Angola) and the lowest Gross National Product per capita in Europe, of 248 Sterling Half million Portuguese workers have emigrated to foreign countries, seeking better wages and living conditions.

Portugal has a colonial army of 150.000 men in Angola, Mozambique and Guine-Bissao colonies which are thousands of kilometres away from Europe and from each other. It is evident that this colonial crusade is only possible with the active support of the rich imperialist countries in NATO and one of the most important tasks of our organisation is to inform world opinion and the people of those countries about the criminal nature of the colonial war. The Rome Conference, held in the capital of a NATO state, gave us the opportunity to denounce the collusion which makes possible the colonial war led by Portugal against our people. The financial, military and diplomatic support of Portugal by NATO states is only one side of its alliances.

Portugal has indeed another powerful ally, the apartheid regime of South Africa with its extension and the Smith regime in Rhodesia, which are both concerned with similar situations inside their own boundaries. Both are present in the battlefields in Angola, our guerrillas downed a Royal Rhodesian Air Force helicopter in the southern sector of the eastern front and South Africa has integrated air forces bases at Lumege and Kwito Kanevale. We are fighting actually against a powerful alliance of racists and imperialists.

Q. — The OAU has during its 8th Summit of Heads of State and Government withdrawn recognition of the so called «revolutionary government in exile» (GRAE). This is a victory for the MPLA, but do'nt you think it is time you have your true Angolan revolutionary government in exile?

A. — The MPLA is now active inside Angola in 10 out of 15 districts, controlling 1/5 of the territory, it means, about 400.000 sq. km. with a population of half million. This population is administered by what is called action committees, whose members are elected by the population of each village. The action committees of the village in the liberated zones, which have political and administrative tasks, bulid the structure, which rules life in free Angola. A government exists really inthe liberated areas, but until now the MPLA has no intention to organize a government in exile ,with diplomatic activity.

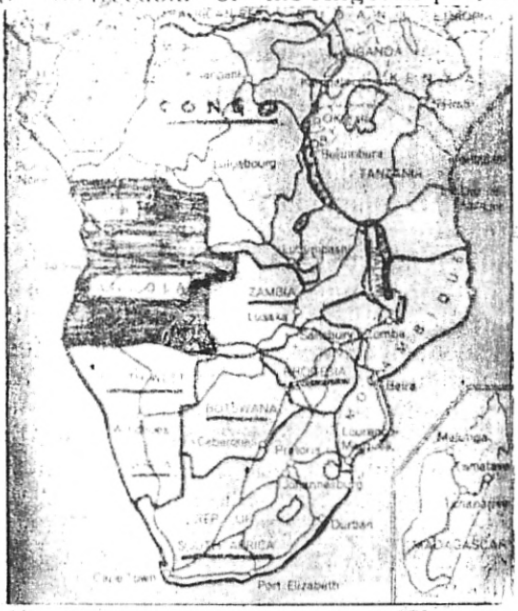
Q. — Futile disputes and internal power struggles create friction and factions in the liberation movements. What are the main reasons for that situation?

A. — The formulation of your question

except by armed struggle, since genocide and brutal repression have been the response of the Portuguese fascist regime to any demand for peaceful evolution towards self-determination.

The MPLA was founded in Luanda on 10 December 1956 as an underground movement, in the atmosphere of colonial terror. As the vanguard of the Angolan people our determination to continue the struggle, by all means for the liquidation of the colonial rule, for the immediate and complete independence of Angola, is expressed in our minimal political programme. Further on, the Conference of Caires held on 3-10 January 1964 stressed in one Resolution, «the Organisation of the MPLA inside Angola is the only way for the strenghening and victory of the political programme of the MPLA». The leaders of the MPLA are present in Angola among the people leading the liberation war, and we are aware that the struggle needs the sacrifice of the best sons of the Angolan people.

The gallant examples of Commander Henda, member of the Executive Committee and Coordinator of its Military Commission, who fell on 14 April 1968 on the field of honour during an attack on the Karipande barracks in the district of Moxico, Dr. Boavida, Director of the Medical Assistance Service of MPLA, who died on 25 September 1968 are only a few, among many others. Seven members of the Executive Committee of MPLA died up to now for freedom of the Angolan people



Fighters of the Angolan liberation army.

is very general, but my answer can only be related to the very specific case of Angola. The minor political programme of the MPLA calls for the creation of an Angolan liberation front of all political parties and organizations with 5 main objectives: 1. — liquidation of colonial rule by all means; 2. — defense of the interest of workers and peasants, who are actually almost the total population of Angola; 3. — alliance with the progressive forces in the world to seek for support in the liberation struggle. The MPLA itself arose from several underground political parties like PLUA (Party of the Unified Struggle in Angola) and MINA (Movement for the National Independence of Angola) and includes mass organizations like OMA for the women and JMPLA for the youth and a national trade union, the UNTA. All those organizations accept the political programme above as a base for the liberation struggle. Nevertheless, the Angolan people's aspiration to overthrow the colonial rule has been betrayed by some small groups, like the so-called GRAE, which are serving foreign interests. Betrayal has always been present in history, and the neo-colonialist and imperialist influence in Africa, particularly in South Africa, is the reason for that situation which is now changing. A good example is the OAU withdrawal of recognition of the GRAE, and that act is a tribute paid to the just political programme we defend.

«Free Angela Davis...» Somali Women shout in a massive demonstration in Mogadishu.

Jaalle Siyad inaugurates consultative solidarity conference in Mogadishu.

BECAUSE of the escalation of national liberation movements that aim at the achievement of national independence and are fought against colonialism and imperialism in Africa and Asia as well as the effectiveness of the strong blows levelled by the peoples of Africa and Asia against the colonialists and imperialists and the consequent victory of the national revolutions, it has become imperative to link the struggle of these peoples and their mutual consolidation in order to preserve the independence which these countries have won over a hard struggle.

For this reason the late President Ahmed Sukarno called a Summit Conference for the Heads of State and Government in Asia and Africa in Bandung.

This was the first conference of Asian and African states and it was also the first positive meeting of the representatives of the independent states and the national liberation movements in the two continents to decide upon the general strategy for the struggle and fight against colonialism and imperialism.

AASPO MEETS IN MOGADISHU

The Secretariat of the Consultative Conference.

This spark has brightened the torch of freedom and given the national liberation movements a vigorous push forward. It has strengthened the solidarity of these nations in order to achieve their aims and aspiration and the elimination of colonial and imperialistic footholds in the two continents.

As a result of the resolutions and recommendations tabled by the first historic conference at the Heads of State and Government level in independent Asia and Africa, the first organisation which embraced all the various organisations of the two continents.

It spearheaded the national liberation movenmets in their respective countries. The first conference of the organisation of the peoples of the two continents was held in Cairo in 1958.

Since that moment in which the Afro-Asian peoples held their first conference, the organisation has contributed, and in a very effective way, to the anti-colonialism struggle. It has given both moral and material support to the national liberation movements. It has also been a very important factor in pushing ahead the national revolutions that were staged against colonialism and imperialism.

The Conferences of the Afro-Asian peoples followed in succession — once meeting in Ghana when President Nkrumah was heading the national liberation movement in Africa — and was working to strengthen the basis of solidarity among the peoples who are along the front of anti-colonialism, imperialism and white racism in Africa.

From December 17-18, 1971, the Consultative Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation was held in Mogadishu, capital of the Somali Democratic Republic, for the first time. This was primarily due to the policy of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, and the support of the national liberation movement in Africa and Asia and Latin America by Revolutionary Somalia since the October 21 Revolution.

The relationship between the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation and the struggle of the Somali people is linked with the appearance of the Solidarity movement itself, for freedom and independence in Africa and Asia. For this reason our playing host to the Regional Consultative Conference is considered by us as an expression of a revolutionary meeting at which we express our belief in all the aims for which the organisation stands — a belief which we share with all the struggling peoples.

The Somali Revolution, in its belief in the necessity of solidarity of the peoples against colonialism and imperialism, extends its full support to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. The President of the SRC said in the opening speech of the Regional Consultative Conference of AASPO:

«As you are aware, our hosting of this Conference is not an accident: it is not a benevolent act of Providence. On the contrary, it is in conformity with our firm belief in contributing to the strengthening of the militant solidarity between the peoples of Africa and Asia. This is in line with one of the principles enshrined in the First Charter of our Revolution which expressly enunciates our support for international solidarity and national liberation movements.

«Colonialism and imperialism, confronting with the results and unfailing will of our peoples is in one of its last and desperate efforts trying to strangle the national liberation movements for independence and to sabotage the revolutionary march of our peoples towards progress and peace by undermining the unity of the progressive and democratic forces, and by the creation of situations of tension. The imperialists and colonialists are endeavouring hard to impede the economic and social progress of our peoples with a view to keeping us in their bondage forever. This is the wicked strategy of world imperialism, a strategy of which we are all well aware.»

The President declared the support and solidarity of Revolutionary Somalia with the Indo-Chinese peoples. He condemned Zionist expansionist hostilities in the Middle East, Portuguese colonialism in Africa, the arrogance of the white minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa and the colonial presence in some parts of Africa and Asia.

The President added: «Since it is the strategy of the imperialism and colonialists to undermine the people's movem-

ent towards genuine independence and progress and it becomes incumbent upon us to redouble our militant revolutionary struggle and vigilance in order to withstand the imperialist manoeuvres and ensure victory which is ultimately with our peoples.

«In this respect, the Somali Democratic Republic firmly believes that the only way to combat colonialism and to accelerate the liberation of the territories still held by colonial and racist regimes is to adhere to the principles of the Mogadishu Declaration, adopted at the last Summit Conference of East and Central African States held in Mogadishu. The Mogadishu Declaration which is a clarion call for armed struggle is a true expression of the aspirations of all the progressive peoples in Africa».

The speech of the President was in itself a militant stand in which the leader of the October 21 Revolution, clearly enunciated the position of Somalia vis-a-vis colonialism and imperialism. It declared the clear stand of Somalia with regard to the liberation cause.

The President explained: «In our just struggle against imperialism and colonialism it is imperative to continue enlisting the active support of the peoples of the socialist countries who, like us, have a vital stake in repulsing imperialist aggression».

The speech of the President, Jaalle Siyad, at the Regional Consultative Conference of AASPO, made a unique impression and it was adopted by the Conference as a guide for its discussion and deliberations.

Three delegates from A.A.S.P.O. Secretariat.

The colonialist, in order to accomplish his motive of «divide and rule for ever» resorted to the isolation of the African countries from one another. He did this first by indoctrinating the African people different languages and escondly by impeding progress in the communications field.

When the Africans finally woke up to throw the colonial political yoke, they soon realized that they were still a long way from making economic progress, despite political independence. It was, also ,obvious that economic progress would not be attained without a sound communications system. Thus, the independent African States together with the help of friendly countries, have for the past years been busy working on projects in this respect.

It is hoped that the Mombasa-Lagos route could be linked to the projected Trans-Saharan road at Kano in Nigeria, with an extension from Tahoua in Niger where the route was first scheduled. Also, the Nairobi — Addis highway under contruction could be joined in the East at the Somali border and at the Tanzania link to Zambia.

On the telecommunication side, apparently most of the traffic between the African countries was, and still is to some extent, carried over high-frequency radio link, (H.F.) many of which provide poor quality connections with services restricted to only a few hours per day. These links were originally planned to meet only national needs and comparatively few of them have the inter-linkage to cross country frontiers.

OPENING THE HEART OF AFRICA FOR BETTER CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Tanzam Railway running through 1,936 miles of forest and swamps between Tanzania's modern port of Dar-Es-Saam and the Copper Belt in Zambia came as a result of the kind gesture of the Chinese People's Republic offered to save the lives of the African people. The advent of this Railway does not only take Zambia out of the economic and political isolation brought about by the Declaration of Unilateral Independence in Rhodesia, but it also gives a commercial outlet to African commodities across the Indian Ocean.

Another penetration into the continent will be realized in the completion of the Trans-African Highway embracing seven countries — Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Central African Republic, Tchad, Cameroon and Nigeria. Linking the Indian Ocean with the Atlantic, the 3,000-mile road will make travelling on the continent less difficult, but it will also contribute to the bettering of economic, political and cultural relations between the African people.

The first telecommunication links between Africa and the outside world were administrative or commercial calls which the white man made to the Metropolitans.

Even after telecommunication links became possible between the African countries, it was through one or more European countries, for instance, until recently there was no other means of sending telegraphic or telephone messages from Mogadiscio to Addis Ababa, an approximate distance of 1,260 miles, except through Rome. Many other African countries had either Paris or London as a transit centre. This system tion problem is now being met by the independent African States who have started having country to country telecommunication links. A classic example is the story of Addis-Abidjan where a Telex with Telephone and Telegraphic connection was established in 1960 over a distance of 2,500 miles, making east-west telecommunication on the African Continent less difficult than in the past.

The Somali and Ethiopian capitals started having a direct trunk circuit at the beginning of last year. Another circuit has also been opened between Mogadiscio and Nairobi on the bilateral effort of the Somali and the Kenyan Governments.

The plan for a general telecommunication Newtwork was first discussed at the 1962 Dakar Conference by the African members of the ITU Commission. This dealt with the improvement of the existing circuits and the establishment of the most important trunk lines inside Africa. The main concern was to link Africa with the world network by inter-continental connections.

This was followed by the 1967 Addis Ababa Plan drawn up for 1965-70 with an extension to 1975 to deal with existing or projected international trunk communication.

A Pan-African Telecommunication Network.

As a result of 1967 telecommunication Plan, studies had been made on the existing telecommunication facilities of thrity-eight countries. International links have been identified as necessary and likely to prove profitable within five years of their estalbishments.

The Continent has been divided into sectors and subsectors to make the work easy.

As a first phase, the seven countries of Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia were grouped as the East Africa sector. These countries, together with the UNDP, have officially signed what is termed as a «Pre-Investment survey» to establish Telecommunication links between their countries. May 1971, this being part of the major «Investment Plan» covering studies on the improvements of the already existing Telecommunication facilities and the survey of new routes.

The East Africa Sector has been divided into two subsectors named as the «Northern subsector» which covers eight Telecommunication routes of a distance of 3,550 Km, whilst the Southern Sub-Sector has three routes of a distance of 2,130 Km, bringing the total distance to be covered on the East Africa Sector to 5,680 Km.

This survey is expected to last for three years with two teams of consultants working separately but simulataneously.

The Survey of the Project has several obligations to fulfill such as the re-examining of the national trunk circuit requirements along the International Routes proposed in the ITU report and to study the economic aspect of the various possible systems making recommendations for the most viable system to be used.

The Survey will, too, find out to what extent planned satellite earth station can be used for the countries concerned. It will also undertake detailed studies of transmission systems to be used on the routes and will recommand suitable frequency bands for each link.

The fact that so much ground work is being laid down for creating a reliable transport and telecommunication in Africa, is a reminder of the importance this has for the future development of Africa. Taking this as a point of departure, the Lusaka Summit Conference in 1969 of East and Central African States has established among other things a Sectoral Committee for Transport and Communication in this part of Africa.

The Committee was to explore ways and means of promoting inter-regional cooperation in the field of transport and communication and specifically in the field of Air Transport, road and railway, coastal and inland water Transport, Posts and Telecommunication.

The Sectoral Committee

The Sectoral Committee on Transport and Communications which convened in Addis Ababa towards the end of November 1970 discussed the subject in detail and reviewed many problems pertaining to transport facilitation and traffic rights to member States.

The Committee recommended the establishment of a Pan-African Telecommunication Union and feasibility study was seen as necessary to the launching of an African Telecommunication satellite.

The Committee also recommended an economic feasibility study on a railway link between Sudan and Nigeria via Tchad and the same study for a railway

link between Sudan and Central African Republic.

To support the 1964 Air Transport Conference and to adopt the resolution of the East and Central African Summit in Khartoum the Sectoral Committee agreed on the establishment of a Multinational sub-reginal Airline for the operation of inter-continental routes, leaving domestic routes for national airlines.

All these recommendations in the development of a sound, communication system were further adopted in the last East and Central African Summit Conference in Mogadishu.

If the first task of the African people was to throw the colonial yoke and acquire the political power necessary for bringing radical changes in the last decade as a result of which most of the Africans have become liberated, the primary task of the second post-independence decade is essentially that of devising ways and means of harnessing Africa's economic potentialities to the interest of the masses and of exploring and opening up new areas of mutual cooperation between the African States. The challenge to the leaders of the African States lies, perhapes, in achieving this goal in this second post-independence decade.

«Somalita», Agency for Somali banana, always on the lookout for new markets. G.D.R is a recent customer.

Secretary of Education Major Abdulrazak Mohamoud Abokor

DEVISING A NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

THE Educational System which the Revolution inherited was a mixture of a colonial heritage divorced from any nationalist content and later additions designed to promote the political situation in the post-independence decade. This mixture of colonial and reactionary education could not be the basis for a revolutionary development oriented education. The Colonial education was designed to produce clerks for the colonial administration and to reduce the need to learn the Somali Language. The reactionary government made no change in this system of education. Indeed it was in their interest to continue a system of education that discourages political awareness and the teaching of progressive ideas. It is in this light that the activities and programmes of the last two years must be seen as an attempt to give new directions to our educational system.

The Secretary of State for Education Maj. Abdirazak M. Aboker, had touched upon the problems that faced the Ministry of Education in the process of constructing Socialist revolutionary education, and how they are gradually to be over — come, in an address to the Nation. «Naturally the process of building the type of revolutionary education we would like to build, could not be attained in two

years, but I shall review the background of our educational system and some of the major problems we encountered and the strategies we adopted in overcoming these problems.»

Current issues in our educational system.

The problems of our educational system are interrelated with the economic, political and social realities operating in the society. As such the schools were conditioned by the stagnation and negligence that characterized the whole corrupt pre-revolutionary decade. While many of our educational problems were inherited from the Colonial period, the ten years that followed lacked any coherent programme of educational development and philosophical guidelines for directing our policies .

Another point should be borne in mind in any discussion of the educational issues. In its analysis the Government is guided by the belief that its policies and their evaluation must be based on the total effect her policies will have on the educational performance of the nation. Indeed while some decisions may seem or indeed have some negative side-effects on some component of the population, the long-term effects are always for the good of the nation. Typical of these issues are the increases in boarding school fees, the marginal passes among this year's intermediate school leavers and the new guidelines for scholarships.

Increase of Boarding School fees.

Recent increment to boarding school fees generated some questions about its wisdom. The Secretary of State for Education said that increase is not really as much as it seems on first impression.

«First the student in our boarding schools will be paying approximately two shillings a day while it costs the Ministry 4 to 7 shillings to feed him depending upon the cost of living in the location of the school. Second and more general question is the social justification for the disproportionate expenditure on the few boarding schools. The Ministry spends 4 million shillings on 3,800 boarders. The issue becomes then, should we have continued the maintenance of these schools at these costs or should we use the money for the expansion of the educational opportunities. We choose the latter. Thirdly the social condition which justified the heavy degree of boarding school subsidy no longer exists. These were primarily due to the shortage and inaccessibility of schools in the early 1940's and 1950's. In the 1970's the lower strata of society are outnumebered in boarding schools. Admittedly the increments in boarding fees would mean some hardships for some but small group of families. To overcome this we revised the awarding of fee places. 15% of students will be given scholarship. Of these 5% are reserved for the needy, 5% for refugee children. And 5% for the accademically meritorious students».

A Problem of marginal passes or below 50 passes?

The Secretary explained the reason for low passes:

«The existence of marginal passes are due to the poor quality of instruction in the intermediate schools because of the multiplicity of foreign languages and low standard of teachers. We are taking steps to overcome this by re-training teachers and building their morale to upgrade the quality of teaching, and the introduction of the Somali Language. Similarly not all intermediate school leavers have the ability to go to Secondary schools. For too long we have followed the traditional philosophy of preparing the intermediate output for secondary education, and secondary output for scholarship.

We should have equipped our students in the field of technical education so that those who end their education at the primary level can do something useful to society. Indeed, those who have attained marginal passes indicated their lack of preparation and inability to take advantage of a full fledged secondary education. Instead we feel that they could be put in training schools, and centres whereby they acquire basic skills and become useful semi-skilled workers».

A Special Committee of various Secretaries of State has been recently appointed in order to investigate the possibility of organizing professional training in order to absorb these students. After several meetings the committee agreed

on the following as emergency measures:

1. The revival of the so-called Maritime-vocational school
2. Organization of vocational course on «Hides, Skin and Leather Development»
4. Organization of vocational course on Telecomunication.
5. Organization of vocational training at the Scuola Industriale.
6. Organization of vocational training on clerical jobs at Hargeisa C.T.C..

The Committee has also recommended that this vocational course should be organized on permanent basis for the future.

Scholarships:

Another controversial issue was Foreign Scholarships: «Somalia needs scholarships not because it is given but it serves a national purpose. We have often said that we don't have to accept scholarships from everybody in his own terms. Instead, our terms must prevail over theirs as to whether we take scholarships from our friends or not» stated Maj. Abdirazak.

«The new policy for scholarship has a gist which says no Somali can go on scholarship for areas of learning that the new National University can provide, but those who are seeking education on specialities which the country needs and which are not available at home will always be assisted to secure scholarships.

Our policy on scholarships is designed to take into account planned charges in the field of higher education and particularly the selection of faculties to be established in the National University. It is with this in mind that the studies of the University Institute which offered 2 year University education has been raised to a full four year university awarding degrees in Law and Economics» continued the **Secretary.**

New faculties of Agriculture and Science have also been established this year.

It is also expected that within 2 o 3 years the College of Education at Afgoi, which is due for considerable expansion and improvement in the Development Plan, will be turning out University graduates who could teach in secondary schools. At present there is acute shortage of such teachers in the country.

Teacher orientation programme.

The academic year of 1970/1971 was a year of re-orientation of the human element of this Ministry. It was realized by the leadership the revolutionization, socialisation and Somalization of the contents, strategies and achievements of education were determined more than any other factor by the degree the teaching staff was dynamized with the vivid comprehension of the new aspirations of our new Somalia and the desirability of their unwavering participation in the society efforts for national reconstruction. Both the mental and physical energies of our teaching staff are essential tools that indispensibly augment the national performance.

Through the summer programmes which all participated, they were alerted for the need that their labour had to be availed for the self-help schemes with which the nation intended to design its future. Their relatively trained minds were also needed for the provision of a development oriented leadership which our communities badly wanted. In relation to their instructional activities of classroom situation, they were reminded to review the instruction they offered. In these Seminars and courses the stress was laid on the revolutionary concept that the education we wanted was not for education sake, but education for use here in Somalia. In other words, the information rendered to our children must be tempered to serve us as a useful tool for the physical needs of Somalia first and then our aspiration to flourish as an integrated, socialist society, worthy of respect and recognition among the civilized nations.

The programmes for teacher orientation were such that they accommodated all teachers that serve in the public schools. It was done invariegated forms. About 800 primary school teachers were oriented at Bottigo (National Orientation School); 180 teachers were given two months course — 90 of them in Mogadishu and other 90 in Hargeisa.

Besides these two groups, the primary teachers were catered for through their participation of the youth festivals, youth summer camps and the youth participations in the Second Anniversary of October Revolution Celebrations. In this manner there was almost no primary school teacher who was not touched by the wind of change that rightfully has been shaking the nation since our blessed Revolution. Like the primary teaching staff, the secondary school teachers had their seminar of orientation here in Mogadiscio. As for heads of schools for all levels of schools, seminar programmes, were provided for them. The stress of such programme was on the point that new school leadership was one that had to be embraced in the community leadership. In other words, our heads of schools were led to realize that the appropriate headmaster was the one who was also actively involved in the provision of positively mobilizing leadership of the community and made the school the center of societal activities.

The programme of staff orientation didn't overlook the need of Senior Education Officers, like the Regional Education Officers and Inspectors of schools. It was hoped that they were prepared for their new revolutionary roles in the process of programme which was specifically laid for them.

A significient feature of this programme was that with the exception of few educational cadres, they were all brought to Mogadiscio where they roomed and boarded together. In this way, for the first time in the history of this nation all its educational staff were collected together to know one another as individuals and as groups and to be prepared together for commonly defined and reckoned future.

Youth Orientation.

The fundamental function of education is the preparation of the young for both life participation and adaptability for the anticipated future. This sort of preparation cannot be of course attained by classroom instruction alone. Besides the academic geared instruction, which they receive from books minds of teachers and among themselves in the classroom situation, our young need to be taught skills and attitudes that can benefit them at work and at leisure. The training they deserve is the one that makes them innovative, creative and constructive; it is one which is not basically making them individualistic but communalistic; it is one which is calculated to free them from superstition and turn them into meticulous pragmatists Indeed, El Mugne where about 2,000 students participated and October Youth Festival and paramilitary training in which about 10,000 students took part and were provided education of not less value than the one they received in the classrooms.

These youth programme, to our assessment offered instruction which was the right prescription for the cause of producing young commrades, patriots and people with healthy bodies and sound social habits.

It was often argued that such programmes catered only for Mogadiscio However, our friends may be reminded that the participants of all these programmes who were of course all from the Capital schools numbered about 12,000 students. This number of students constituted about 31% of our entire school enrolment. Thus, the Ministry of Education must be commended to render such nourishing service to one third of its school popoulation, though the programme was at its initial stage.

Innovations in Education

A lot of reforms have taken place and many new services have been provided for the first time. These are highlighted by the following:

1. **Textbook Writing.**

Due to the recent over-all change of Government Policy, the Ministry of Education thought it proper to prepare its own textbooks for schools. This was most felt at the Intermediate level. The Ministry earlier this year distributed assignment among the lecturers in the College of Education to prepare textbooks for class use. Priority was given to grade 8 which is the final year of primary course. From there a descending order to lower classes was followed. Each book was written by a committee, each committee was divided into sub-committees to do a whole unit on the subject.

The committee then compiled their work together, cross-checked their various assignmments trimmed out any additions to the requirement of the syllabus; and then integrated their work.

At this phase of the project all textbooks for grade 8 have been completed. Besides all Arabic Textbooks for all other Intermediate plus the English Textbook for Grade 7 are just on the point to come out.

2. Curriculum Reforms:

The reform in education introduced by October Revolution, has not left the school curriculum untouched.

We cannot talk of socialist, revolutionary, and labour-oriented education until the curriculum is geared to cater for all cherished aspects. It was no sooner realized that the formal instruction at our school was not particularly socializing, revolutionizing and nativizing the attitudes and skills of its receipients that curriculum reforms became a pertinent matter. The integration of secondary school curriculum which has been operative for two years now, was revised by the Somali Secondary School teachers during the summer Seminars. The curriculum for the phased out Italian-media private secondary schools was equally revised by the Somali teaching staff that worked in the concerned schools.

For the revision of the Intermediate curriculum a Committee was selected some-time ago. The objective was to change the entire goals, the contents and scope of this stage of education. The new goals of the new curriculum was defined to constitute the following.

i) To equip the receipients, with the basic skills to that they become useful and productive members of the Somali society.

ii) The curriculum should be designed to produce citizens whose habits and attitudes are socialistic, revolutionary and Somali.

iii) The Intermediate education should be terminal. In other words its products must be individuals who are not mere academicians but ready to cope with the problems of Somalia as good workers, parents and citizens.

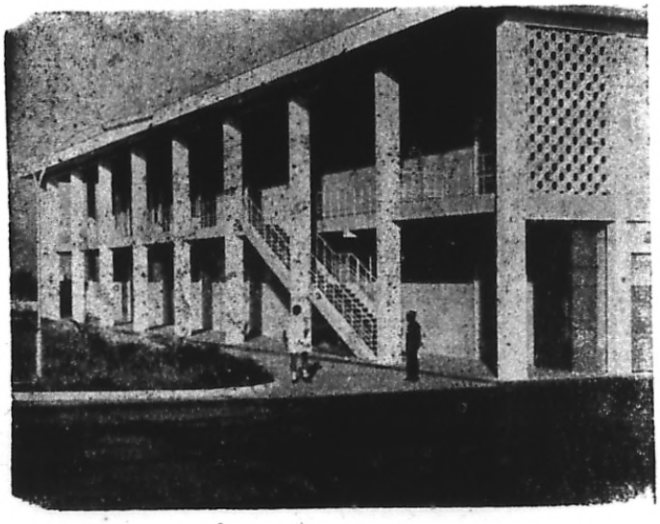
The syllabi which is hoped to fulfil the above goals is almost to be completed.

Special curriculum for the introduction of a revolutionary education which is a new subject to all phases of our education is also on the process to be completed.

3. Somali Language.

A national Language Commission, composed of 21 Somali Researchers, was appointed on January 1971 to set school textbooks. 13 books with a Somali Dictionary had been already completed for the primary schools. Textbooks for Adult Education are under preparation.

The policy of the Government is to introduce the Somali Language officially in a systematic manner — with a full preparation and programmes for its dessimination of mass functional literacy.



Eduction is on the first list of priorities in this revolutionary era.

Many schools comprising elementary, intermediate, Secondary and vocational have sprung throughout the Republic, both through self-help as well as government aid.

SAYID MOHAMED ABDULLA HASSAN

FOR TWENTY YEARS THE BATTLE RAGED ... NOW A GREAT STORY IS ABOUT TO BE WRITTEN

FOR decades the events that have taken place in Somalia have been seen through foreign eyes. They took what suited them best, and rejected those parts of the story which were unfavourable to them. In this way, a very one-sided picture has been presented to the world, and the truth, if not completely suppressed, has only partly emerged to satisfy the interest of those seeking information on Somalia's past.

Now, with the active backing of the Revolution, an attempt is being made to present the facts of Somalia's history in full detail and, more important, to put on record the Somali side of what took place, especially during the struggle for independence, so that this phase in the nation's affairs is no longer shrouded in doubt and conjecture.

One of the most powerful and colourful of the many personalities to dominate the Somali scene in the more recent past was Sayd Mohamed Abdulla Hassan

who, from the turn of the present century to the time of his death in the 1920's, set Somalia's nationalist sentiments aflame and gave impetus to the movement that was finally to culminate in independence in 1960.

Sayid Mohamed was a statesman of rare ability, a diplomat of great skill, an outstanding military commander and a a poet of genius — a combination of talents to envy in anyone!

New light has been shed on this remarkable man and his astounding feats by the researches undertaken recently by the Somali-Soviet Historical Expedition which has just concluded a five-month period of field studies in all parts of the Republic. They interviewed thousands of people, studied documents and other sources, and listened to others sing some long-forgotten gabey, all of which highlighted some aspect of the character, the personality and the achievements of the Sayid.

Receiving the Historical Expedition last September, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, Jaalle Siad said significantly: «We have to do our best to record the history of our people.»

Thus began a new spate of activity, undertaken jointly by Somali and Soviet historians to piece together the facts that will, once and for all, destroy the myths and the half-truths that western writers have perpetuated in their published accounts of events in Somalia during the colonial period.

When the President's call for assistance to the Expedition went out, people streamed into the centres in which the members of the expedition were taking information. They came from miles around, trudging across vast distances, on camels and donkeys, to tell what they knew. They were nomads, farmers, businessmen and townfolk, all with something of interest to relate about The Mullah and his stirring exploits.

But that was not all. Further information was given by Ministers, regional governors and senior civil servants. It was a huge national response that bore evidence to the great desire of the Somali people to see the facts of their history set down as a permanent record of which they could be proud.

These researches established that Somalis were not only gallant warriors and poets, but they have a special mission to preserve the history of their nation, and this was demonstrated in the overwhelming interest they have shown in the work of the Historical Expedition.

The information collected during the expedition's visits has lifted the veil on a number of incidents — some little known and others completely unknown until now, which greatly illuminate Somalia's past, especially in the light of the Revolution and its progress over the past two years.

The darawish uprising, guided by Sayid Mohamed Abdalla Hassan, was a link in the chain of events related to the liberation struggle of the Somali people against the oppressers and the colonialists. The Somali people learned much that gave them the vast political experience which has stood them in good stead in the long battle for freedom, and today in the reforms and changes of the Revolution. This experience is also becoming apparent in the new policy of scientific socialism and in the successful attempts to banish tribalism. .

Mohamed Abdulla was a staunch opponent of the tribal grouping that gave the colonialists what they wanted to prevent the unity of a national Somali state. These anti-tribal traditions were to be passed down over the years and to find effective culmination in the policies of the Revolution.

A study of the Sayid's life and the policies he pursued shows how well he understood the need for unity among the people, especially for a coming together of all Somalis under a single banner. He achieved this in his darawish movement, which at first had a religious character,

but later became a liberation movement directed against breaking the colonial stranglehold.

Abdulla Hassan's activities gained him control of part of Northern Somalia. The imperialists were foiled in all their attempts at secret plots, cunning manoeuvres, alliances, diplomacy and even the outright threat of gunboat confrontation. They were outdone by Somali unity.

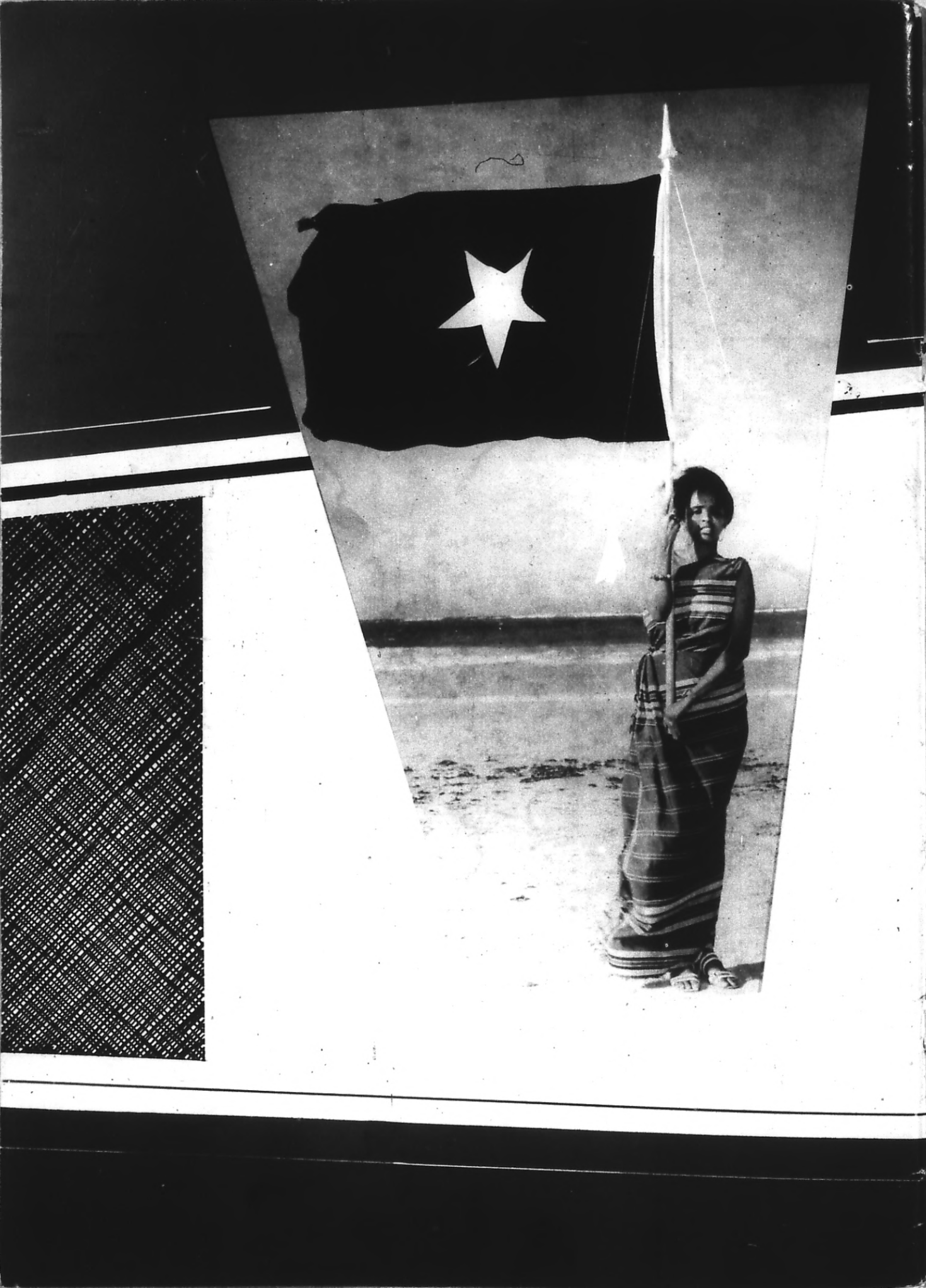
The situation that developed showed another of Sayid Mohamed's brilliant talents. He showed his mastery of military strategy by assembling a vast army, building huge forts to accommodate them; acquiring arms to give them real affectiveness as a fighting force, and of feeding them by means of a supply network that completely baffled the colonial authorities. He also assured the mobility of his troops by providing them with horses, thus giving them the means of making surprise attacks that left the colonial forces confounded.

Hassan personally took charge of every single detail of his campaigns, from the designing of his forts, to the plans for each single engagement that won victory for his forces. Added to his great organisational ability, Mohamed Abdulla was a gifted orator and a poet who won the patriotism of his people by appealing to their strong sense of nationalism which played strongly upon the theme of ridding the country of foreign domination.

He was utterly fearless. Once, when returninig to the Port of Berbera from a trip abroad, British officials demanded a port fee from him when he landed. «And what tax did you pay when you came here?» Abdulla Hassan demanded. No further impediments were placed upon his re-entry to his own country, except that henceforth he was known by them as the «Mad Mullah».

Quite understandably, many attempts were made to falsify accounts and to spread stories that showed him up as a ruthless power seeker who would not stop at the most terrifying acts to command obedience from his followers. But the Mullah's supporters knew him and respected him too much to take much notice of what was said about him by his enemies. There are many who have testified that the acts of cruelty and bloodshed were deliberately enacted by the colonial oppressors in order to discredit the Mullah and thus create division among his followers.

As the story of those gallant years in Somalia's history comes to be written, a new perspective will be given to the events of those times and, free of the falsehood and deliberate distortions that were spread, they will be seen as the heroic struggle of a people determined to be free, that far outshines in intensity of purpose and application the struggles of other oppressed peoples. In the narrative that tells of Sayid Mohamed Abdalla Hassan and Somalia's past, a great story is in the process of being written.

A PRODUCTIVE LAND

1. - Tabacco
2. - Rice
3. - Cotton